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VOLUME LXXI, NUMBER 1 OCTOBER 1965

The Idea of Progress: A Critical Reassessment

GEORG G. IGGERS*

IN the course of the nineteenth century a profound crisis in Western consciousness occurred, perhaps the deepest since the emergence of the great traditional value systems in Greece and Palestine two and a half millenniums ago. The fundamental metaphysical assumption of the Western intellectual tradition, the certainty of the ethical meaningfulness of the universe, collapsed. The full realization of the "death of God," proclaimed by Heinrich Heine, Friedrich Nietzsche, and others, suddenly took hold of Western thought. Modern man confronted what Jean-Paul Sartre has pictured as the logical consequence of the atheistic position,[1] the recognition that he lived in a world without objective value and hence without objective meaning.

* Mr. Iggers, professor of history at the State University of New York, Buffalo, is the author of *The Cult of Authority: The Political Philosophy of the Saint-Simonians. A Chapter in the Intellectual History of Totalitarianism* (The Hague, 1958). He read a version of this paper at the meeting of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations in Salzburg, Austria, September 20–27, 1964.

[1] See Jean-Paul Sartre, *Existentialism*, tr. Bernard Frechtman (New York, 1947); see also Heinrich Heine, "Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland," in *Heinrich Heine's Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Gustav Karpeles (2d ed., 9 vols., Berlin, 1893), V, 94.

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In a sense this ethical nihilism was the end product of a long process of secularization of life and thought that had begun in the Middle Ages. The scientific discoveries and formulations of the seventeenth century had ushered in a demythologization of world views. The Enlightenment marked the height of the belief in the applicability of empirical analysis to the problems of human behavior as well as of ethics. Yet, in another way, the gulf which separated the naturalistic world view of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment from the modern denial of the existence of objective value was much deeper than that which separated the demythologized world of the Enlightenment from the religious world picture of the prescientific age. Carl Becker has with justice noted that in a very basic way "the *Philosophes* were nearer the Middle Ages, less emancipated from the preconceptions of medieval Christian thought, than they quite realized or we have commonly supposed."[2] For in their belief that there was a basic moral structure inherent in the universe, the eighteenth-century advocates of natural law still stood in a line of thought that linked them with Isaiah, Aristotle, and Thomas Aquinas.

The relation between the doctrine of natural law and the idea of progress is a complex one. The belief in rational ethical values does not necessarily carry with it the belief in the perfectibility of man. Eighteenth-century rationalist thought was marked by strong undercurrents of pessimism.[3] The doctrine of natural law did not imply that men would act rationally, but merely that they had a rational choice. Voltaire saw in history the perennial struggle of reason and unreason. Nevertheless, without the belief in the existence of rational values, the idea of progress is meaningless. The idea of progress in its classical form was born in the confidence of the Enlightenment that through the systematic application of reason to society, rational conditions of human life could be created. Certain critics, such as Karl Löwith,[4] have therefore interpreted the idea of progress as a secularized form of the Judaeo-Christian conception of Providence. This is true only to the extent that the theorists of progress of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries viewed history as a unilinear process toward a meaningful end. But not only did most theorists of progress see the fulfillment of this end in worldly terms, but, as in the case of Condorcet and John Stuart Mill (in sharp contrast to the Augustinian view), they emphasized the active role

[2] Carl L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers* (New Haven, Conn., 1932), 29.

[3] See Henry Vyverberg, *Historical Pessimism in the French Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

[4] See Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History* (Chicago, 1949).

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that men played in the historical process through the application of reason and science to society.

What constitutes reason and science, of course, underwent considerable development in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ernst Cassirer has sharply contrasted pre- and post-Newtonian conceptions of philosophy and science. If most seventeenth-century thinkers still believed that an understanding of the rational structure of the universe, including the realm of values, was possible through an a priori deductive approach, the dominant note of the eighteenth century was a much humbler one. Reason was no longer looked upon as the "sum total of 'innate ideas' given prior to all experience which reveal the absolute essence of things,"[5] but was restricted to the world of phenomena. John Locke, Denis Diderot, or Voltaire no longer hopefully assumed that the fundamental problems of cosmic reality could be solved through human reason. All of this involved a conscious rejection of metaphysics. Nevertheless, no matter how vociferously eighteenth-century empiricists or nineteenth-century positivists repudiated metaphysics, their concepts of reason and science involved a thoroughly metaphysical assumption. Reason was not merely a methodological tool for reasoning or planning, but a normative concept and a guide to ultimate value. The universe was not an ethically indifferent world. Locke, Voltaire, Pierre Bayle, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Gotthold Lessing, and Immanuel Kant were all agreed that there was a rational ethics. From reason there followed axiomatically certain ethical conclusions, such as the rights and dignity of the individual or the categorical imperative. And although such eighteenth-century political thinkers as Frederick the Great and Benjamin Franklin might differ on the type of political institutions—absolutist, constitutional, or democratic—by which these ethical principles were best achieved, they generally agreed on what constituted a rational minimum ethics. Nor was this metaphysical element absent in the dominant nineteenth-century conceptions of science. For none of the important social philosophers in the positivistic tradition of the early or mid-nineteenth century was science a value-free method of inquiry as it was to become later for physical scientists like Albert Einstein or Max Planck or for cultural scientists like Max Weber. Science for Henri de Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill, Henry Thomas Buckle, Karl Marx, Ludwig Büchner, Walter Bagehot, Herbert Spencer, or Hippolyte Taine was not merely a method, but also a system. Scientific inquiry would inevitably re-

[5] Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, tr. F. C. A. Koelln and J. P. Pettegrove (Princeton, N. J., 1951).

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veal the lawfulness of the universe and social science the lawfulness of society. For Pierre Proudhon, Condorcet, Comte, Marx, Mill, and Spencer, there was such a thing as a scientific or rational society. For most of these thinkers, the steady advance of the sciences became identical with the progress of society. And despite their great differences regarding the specific political and economic institutions reserved for the future, men as divergent as Condorcet, Marx, and Spencer were agreed on the general character of the normative, that is, scientific, society. For them the scientific study of society aimed at the discovery of general laws governing social movement, and these general laws were formulated as laws of social progress. History was seen as movement toward a normative society. In their best-known form, the laws of social movement were formulated in Comte's "Law of the Three Stages," but they appeared in similar forms in Turgot, Condorcet, Marx, Buckle, Spencer, and many other writers. More careful thinkers such as John Stuart Mill also recognized the tendency, but questioned whether at this point of empirical study one could speak of "laws of progress."[6] There was, however, general agreement regarding the steady accumulation of knowledge and what was felt to be the progressive replacement of conjectural, that is, theological or metaphysical, notions by scientific ones. There was also broad agreement that this process was accompanied by the steady growth of industry and the transformation of a warlike society and its spirit into an industrial and pacific one. There was further consensus that the course of history reflected the steady decline of coercion in government and the increasing role of rule by consent. As nineteenth-century social thought in reaction to the French Revolution increasingly recognized the role of impersonal social and historical forces, less emphasis was placed on intellect as a moving force in historical change, and progress was seen to an increasing extent as the result of an inner logic of society. The belief in the basic harmony of science and values, nevertheless, remained. Marx and Friedrich Engels, who most vehemently asserted that their social theory was scientific and free of moral presuppositions, also most insistently declared that scientific analysis provided the key to the final, that is, the scientific, normative social state of man. How widely spread the belief in the scientific certainty of progress was even later in the nineteenth century was demonstrated by the *Grand Larousse du* XIX^e^ *siècle,* which only a year after the national debacle of 1870–1871 noted under the entry "Progress" that virtually all intelligent men now accepted the idea.

[6] John Stuart Mill, *A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive, Being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence and the Methods of Scientific Investigation* (7th ed., 2 vols., London, 1868), II, 510.

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As attempts at a scientific explanation of social phenomena, the theories of progress stated as general laws of social development proved to be untenable. As scientific theories they required empirical validation. None of the great theories of progress of the nineteenth century were or could be thus validated. Despite their scientific terminology, they remained speculative systems.[7]

In the decline of the faith in progress, nevertheless, the scientific or logical critique of the idea was of relatively little importance. Serious philosophical examination of the idea of progress came largely only in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, when the idea had already lost much of its respectability. More important was the critique of the conception of reason upon which the theories of progress had rested. This critique occurred in two stages. In its earlier form, to which we shall refer as "historism" for lack of a better term, the critics recognized the normative character of reason and the objective meaningfulness of the universe and of history, but insisted that reason in human matters was not universal and abstract but individual and concrete. In a later form, which Erich Kahler has called "historicism" to distinguish it from the earlier "historism,"[8] this critique led to ethical nihilism, to the position that there is no objective value in the universe or objective meaning in history, and that reason and science can therefore only tell us what *is,* even when they are describing value systems, but never what *ought to be.*[9]

Historism was the main competitor of the idea of progress in the early nineteenth century. The term, of course, needs definition. As we use the term here, perhaps somewhat arbitrarily because it has been given so many meanings,[10] it refers to an orientation rather than to a structured movement in German historical thought. Historism, as we use the term, signifies the the position that history rather than nature is the key to truths and values. The nature of anything is contained in its history. Historism rejects the abstract concepts employed by philosophy and by the natural sciences as inadequate for rendering the concrete, living realities found within history. The theoretical foundations of historism are contained in the late eighteenth-century critique of natural law doctrine as found in Herder's early writings,

[7] For a discussion of the inadequacies of the idea of progress as a scientific explanation of social phenomena, see, e.g., Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London, 1957).

[8] Erich Kahler, *The Meaning of History* (New York, 1964), 200.

[9] Cf. Arnold Brecht, *Political Theory: The Foundations of Twentieth-Century Political Thought* (Princeton, N. J., 1959).

[10] Cf. Dwight E. Lee and Robert N. Beck, "The Meaning of 'Historicism,'" *American Historical Review,* LIX (Apr. 1954), 568–77; cf. also *The Philosophy of History in Our Time: An Anthology,* ed. Hans Meyerhoff (New York, 1959), 10–11.

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especially in his *Also a Philosophy of History*. But on closer examination, the break between historism and the Enlightenment is not as profound as it first seems. Despite the insistence on the inadequacies of reason and the role of intuition, of *Verstehen* and *Anschauung,* in historical cognition, the main currents of historism were by no means antischolarly or even antiscientific. In a sense, the Enlightenment first made possible an objective, empirical approach to historical reality by freeing history from theology and thus making possible the study of history for its own sake. Historism indeed adopted the Enlightenment ideals of methodological correctness and tried to introduce the ideal of scientific objectivity into historical study. History as a scholarly discipline was born in large part under the impact of historism. But in another way, too, the historism of the early nineteenth century was still deeply rooted in the Enlightenment. It assumed that there was reason in history, either in the Hegelian sense that all history was the manifestation of reason, or in the sense of Johann Gottfried von Herder, Edmund Burke, or Leopold von Ranke, that behind the diversity of values and individualities, there rested a divine will. "What happens is visible only in part in the world of senses," Wilhelm von Humboldt commented. "Every human individuality is only the phenomenal manifestation of an idea." And the "goal of history can only be the realization of the idea that mankind is to represent."[11] Similarly Ranke perceived in the states something "real and spiritual at one and the same time [*real-geistig*]." States were not "passing conglomerations" but "spiritual substances, original creations of the human mind—I might say thoughts of God."[12]

In a very real sense this belief in the meaningfulness of the historical world led to an optimism that exceeded even that implied in the idea of progress. By seeing in the forces of history the will of God, historism tended to erase the dichotomy of what is and what ought to be. Every epoch was equally "immediate unto God."[13] Acting in terms of its great historical interests, the state for G. W. F. Hegel or Johann Gustav Droysen could not really sin.[14] "But seriously," Ranke had Friedrich, one of the characters in the "Dialogue on Politics," say, "you will be able to name few significant wars for which it could not be proved that genuine moral energy achieved the final victory."[15] The skepticism with which most natural law thinkers had re-

[11] Wilhelm von Humboldt, *Über die Aufgabe des Geschichtschreibers* (Berlin, 1822), I, 17.

[12] Leopold von Ranke, "A Dialogue on Politics," in Theodore H. Von Laue, *Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years* (Princeton, N. J., 1950), 169; cf. Leopold von Ranke, *Sämmtliche Werke* (2d and 3d ed., 54 vols., Leipzig, 1875–90), IL/L, 329.

[13] *Id., Weltgeschichte* (9 vols., Leipzig, 1888–1902), IX, Pt. II, 5.

[14] Cf. Johann Gustav Droysen, *Historik: Vorlesungen über Enzyklopädie und Methodologie der Geschichte,* ed. Rudolf Hübner (Munich, 1937), 266.

[15] Ranke, "Dialogue on Politics," 167.

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garded power was almost entirely lacking. The border line between historism and the idea of progress was often blurred. The affirmative historism of the nineteenth century did not involve as total a negation of the idea of progress as later writers have suggested;[16] it was rather the expression of confidence that all was basically well. The optimism of Droysen's *Historik,* Heinrich von Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte,* and even Friedrich Meinecke's *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat* was much more blatant than that of Ernest Renan's *L'Avenir de la science,* John Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty,* or Herbert Spencer's *The Man versus the State.*

The disenchantment with the optimism inherent in the idea of progress and in the earlier affirmative historism comes in stages, with the disillusionment following the French Revolution, the disappointments accompanying the Revolution of 1848, and the cultural malaise manifesting itself already very early in the nineteenth century in the consciousness of many writers such as Alexis de Tocqueville, John Stuart Mill, Sören Kierkegaard, and Aleksandr Herzen of the "crisis of modern civilization," a malaise that increased with the growth of a technological mass society. And although optimism remained dominant until the calamities of the First World War, and in America even later, the voices of cultural pessimism multiplied. The optimism of both the idea of progress and of historism was replaced by new orientations toward history. The cyclical theories of history have perhaps received more attention than they deserve in terms of their influence on modern thought or their value as scientifically defensible systems. Ernst von Lasaulx, Nikolai Danilevsky, Oswald Spengler, and Arnold Toynbee (in the first six volumes of the *Study of History*) have each in a brilliant work of synthesis developed a countersystem to the idea of progress. In place of a unilinear development, these writers have seen the history of man in terms of the rise and fall of separate cultures. Each civilization was viewed in "morphological" terms, as a self-contained unit governed by inherent laws of growth and decline. The humanistic values of science, industry, equality, liberty, and humaneness which the adherents of the classical idea of progress had seen as rational norms and as the end products of history were now viewed as doomed.[17] These morphological systems were presented as scientific laws—by Toynbee as the result of supposed empirical investigation—and as such suffered all the logical weaknesses of the idea of progress. They remained speculative systems, lacking empirical validation. Their seri-

[16] E.g., Helmuth Plessner, "Conditio Humana," in *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte* (10 vols., Frankfurt, 1960–), I, 33–86.

[17] See Georg G. Iggers, "The Idea of Progress in Recent Philosophies of History," *Journal of Modern History,* XXX (Sept. 1958), 215–26.

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ous contribution lay rather in their attempt to analyze the nature of modern civilization. They raised the important question—although this is a question that was asked by Tocqueville, Mill, Jakob Burckhardt, Max Weber, and many others—whether the progress of civilization would not through the intellectualization and rationalization of life undermine the very values it had created.

Despite the pessimistic core of the cyclical theories, their denial of ultimate values, their insistence on the historicity of all cognition and all valuation, their rejection of the unity of human civilization, they nevertheless still affirmed the existence of structure and pattern, if not of meaning, in history. But even this became problematic in the course of the nineteenth century. The logical consequence of the secularization of thought was the collapse of the traditional theological and metaphysical concepts and the rise of the conception of nature as a purely impersonal, blind force devoid of purpose. The collapse of the belief in purpose in history did not follow directly upon the recognition that God is dead. Marx, Spencer, and Renan all viewed the world in naturalistic terms, and nevertheless failed to draw the ethical consequences of their atheistic or agnostic philosophical positions. The recognition that history had no structure or purpose and had only the meaning that men gave to it emerged only slowly in the nineteenth century, in Herzen, in Nietzsche, and in the epistemological debates of the German Neo-Kantians at the end of the nineteenth century. But even Wilhelm Dilthey and Wilhelm Windelband were confident that the varieties of *Weltanschauungen,* although rationally irreconcilable, reflected a fundamental cosmic unity. Heinrich Rickert stressed that the cultural sciences deal with values not as valid as such but as related to cultures, but even for him these values still appeared to possess reference to a transcendental ethics.[18] Only Max Weber among the Neo-Kantians drew the final conclusions of the historistic position: that values were cultural phenomena with no reference to ultimate value. All values were rooted in *Weltanschauungen,* and *Weltanschauungen* were in the final analysis irrational. Man was thus faced by the ethical irrationality of the world and the insoluble conflict of the systems of values.[19] With this recognition, German historical thought had passed from historism, the faith that history is the sole key to value and reason, to historicism, the

[18] Heinrich Rickert, *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung* (Tübingen, 1902), 736–38.

[19] See Max Weber, " 'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy" and "The Meaning of 'Ethical Neutrality' in Sociology and Economics," in *The Methodology of the Social Sciences,* tr. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch (Glencoe, Ill., 1949); see also Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation" and "Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology,* tr. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York, 1946).

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recognition that all values are historical and that "historical is identical with relative."[20]

Modern historicism had many sources, of course. It was not merely or primarily the outcome of the methodological and epistemological discussions of a small circle of German Neo-Kantian philosophers and cultural scientists. Anthropology, sociology, Marxism, Darwinism, Freudianism, the study of comparative religion, the naturalistic attitudes that accompanied the increasing role science played in the course of the nineteenth century, all helped to undermine the belief in objective value. Under the emotional impact of the First World War and its aftermath, these realizations became a dominant strain in Western historical thought. Not only were all values viewed as historical, but history too was viewed now as "a tale told by an idiot" signifying nothing.[21]

The position that "history has no meaning"[22] is shared today by thinkers coming from very different intellectual positions. It is a key concept in the existentialism of Jean-Paul Sartre, in the Protestant crisis theology of Karl Barth and of Reinhold Niebuhr, and in the positivism of Karl Popper. It denies not only the objectivity of value but also the coherence of history and for the existentialist position, at least, even the objectivity of method. Theodor Lessing's assertion that "history, originating in desires and volitions, needs and intentions, is a realization of the 'dream visions' of the human race . . . meaning of history is solely meaning which I give myself, and historical evolution is a development from myself to myself,"[23] is essentially as acceptable to the existentialist position as it is to Popper. History confronts us with facts, but "facts as such have no meaning," Popper reminds us; "they gain it only through our decisions."[24] And while it would not be correct to say that history has no meaning in Martin Heidegger's *Existenzphilosophie*, history ceases to have "objective meaning" for him because "objective meaning" presupposes that history confronts man as an object. To Heidegger, man is "thrown" into an ethically absurd universe in which, driven by care (*Sorge*) and anguish (*Angst*), confronted by death, he is forced to define himself. Within the framework of the concrete pos-

[20] Ernst Troeltsch, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1902), 49.

[21] See Leo Strauss, *Natural Right and History* (Chicago, 1953), 18.

[22] Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (2 vols., London, 1945), II, 264, 265. An exception to this position is found in Edward Hallett Carr, *What Is History? The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures Delivered in the University of Cambridge January–March 1961* (New York, 1962), an emphatic reassertion and redefinition of objectivity, meaning, and progress in history.

[23] Theodor Lessing, *Geschichte als Sinngebung des Sinnlosen* (2d ed., Munich, 1921), 10, quoted in Kahler, *Meaning of History*, 19–20.

[24] Popper, *Open Society and Its Enemies*, II, 265.

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sibilities of the situation, man is confronted by a heritage that contained not one history but the "possibility of various histories." The individual "created" his history not on the basis of the objective happenings of the past, but by his decisions directed toward the future. What distinguishes Heidegger and such decisionist German thinkers of the 1920's as Ernst Jünger and Carl Schmitt[25] from Popper is that Heidegger, Jünger, and Schmitt opt against the humanistic and scholarly values of intellect, civilization, human welfare, and humaneness, and Popper opts for them, but Popper like Max Weber before him is aware of the element of faith in his decision.[26] Thus both for existentialist thought with its negative attitude toward intellect as well as for defenders of the scientific spirit such as Popper, history has no objective meaning. And with the death of meaning in history, the idea of progress is dead, too. Only in Communist countries does the idea of progress survive in an antiquated nineteenth-century form kept artificially alive by official policy.

The questions of value, meaning, and coherence in history are, nevertheless, not as easily disposed of as the literature leads us to believe. The basic assumption of the historicist position is, as José Ortega y Gasset has worded it, that "man has no nature but only history"[27] and that hence no rational ethics, no ethics based on human nature is possible. But is this really true?

Here is, of course, the heart of the difference between historism and historicism on the one hand and the doctrine of natural law on the other. Historism and historicism assume that all is flux; natural law assumes that in the midst of change there is an element of stability in the lawful structure of the universe.

It is, of course, a great step from conceptions of the lawfulness of physical nature to those of human nature. A large number of thinkers who denied the possibility of objective or universally valid judgments in the cultural sciences have accepted them in the natural sciences. Men such as Heinrich Rickert, Karl Mannheim, and Popper were willing to recognize in nature what they were unwilling to admit in history: objective coherence. If nature is coherent, then natural science is possible. Although every scientific theory is merely a system of symbols that only indirectly and inaccurately conceptualizes "reality," it nevertheless refers to an objective coherence. There is thus a norm in scientific research that we call truth even if we can never perfectly attain it. And connected with this norm is another

[25] See Christian Graf von Krockow, *Die Entscheidung: Eine Untersuchung über Ernst Jünger, Carl Schmitt, Martin Heidegger* (Stuttgart, 1958).

[26] Popper, *Open Society and Its Enemies*, II, 265.

[27] José Ortega y Gasset, *Obras Completas* (9 vols., Madrid, 1953–62), VI, 41.

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norm closely related to it; this we may call methodological correctness. All this has a direct relevance to the idea of progress because these norms provide the criteria of progress in the sciences. Even in the age of historicism, few thinkers would agree with Oswald Spengler that all systems of science and mathematics have no truth values beyond the cultures to which they relate.[28] And even Spenglerians are forced to act as if they lived in a world governed by an objective physical order.

But not only is there coherence in the physical world; there also appears to be a degree of coherence in that area of history which we call the history of science. The historistic admonition that *individuum est ineffabile,* that it is the task of the historian not to judge, but merely to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen,* that every epoch is "immediate unto God" is clearly inadequate in the history of science. We are dealing not merely with the variety of scientific views but with theories of greater or lesser truth value. The existence of coherence in nature makes progress in scientific knowledge theoretically possible. It is, of course, impossible at this stage (or probably ever) to validate a law of progress in scientific knowledge such as Comte postulated, but we can observe more or less clearly definable trends. This does not exclude reversal. The heliocentric theory and the circulation of the blood, both known to Hellenistic science, had to be "rediscovered" in modern times. Nevertheless, the reality of objective coherence to an extent guides the direction of scientific inquiry. It makes it possible, moreover, to draw lines of development. It also means that the historian is not confronted by a multiplicity of equally meaningless facts, as Popper suggested, but by facts of greater or lesser significance. The selection of these facts in the writing of the history of science is no longer left entirely to the subjective decision of the historian.

What is true of the history of science is also true of the history of technology. But here we are not yet on very controversial ground. For much of historicist theory would admit the possibility of civilizational (scientific, technical, even organizational) progress, but not of cultural (spiritual or moral) progress. This, of course, involves the question whether there is a "human nature" and the even more difficult question whether there are generally applicable norms that derive from this human nature.

To an extent, of course, we shall probably all agree, despite Ortega y Gasset and Sartre's stand to the contrary, that there is a minimal common basis of human nature not only on a biological but also on a psychological

[28] See Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (2 vols., New York, n.d.), I, Chap. II, "The Meaning of Numbers."

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level. In a sense existentialist philosophy which has insisted so forcefully that "there is no human nature"[29] has paradoxically itself traveled on the road back to the recognition of a common human nature, at least in its extreme preoccupation with the "human condition" in which we all share. *Sorge, Dasein zum Tod, Angst, Nausée* are all states that are universally human rather than in Herder's words "national . . . and individual."[30] The practicing historian, no matter how committed to historistic principles, has never been able to escape the assumption of a constancy in human nature. For what was the critical method in history of which the nineteenth-century historians were so proud but the insistence on the recognition of the coherence of physical nature in the case of the criteria of external criticism and of human nature in relation to the principles of internal criticism. As W. H. Walsh suggested:

> It was generalizations about human nature which ultimately lay behind historical explanations . . . we could not even begin to understand [the past], unless we presupposed some propositions about human nature, unless we applied some notion of what is reasonable or normal in human behavior.[31]

Again, if we look at the history of institutions, we see certain lines of continuity. The Saint-Simonians formulated as a social law the ever-widening circle of association of man in the course of history from family to city, nation, church, and finally world state.[32] We can hardly speak of law, and even less of progress in a valuative sense, but we are nevertheless confronted by an observable trend, by what Kahler has called "the gradual expansion of existential scope," an "evolution, not to be confounded with progress, which has a moral or merely functional connotation— . . . from the tribe to city and city-state" to feudal principalities, territorial estates, dynastic and nation-states, popular nations "to civilizational and ideological power blocs, and finally to the technically, technologically prepared 'one world' which is humanly, psychologically, very far from organized realization, but which looms as the only alternative that science and technology have presented us to their opposite achievement, nuclear or biological annihilation."[33] Other trends are equally observable. Max Weber has spoken of a continuous process of intellectualization and rationalization of life since the beginnings of civili-

[29] Sartre, *Existentialism.*

[30] Johann Herder, *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit,* in *Sämmtliche Werke,* ed. Bernhard Suphan (33 vols., Berlin, 1877–1913), V, 505.

[31] W. H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (5th ed., London, 1958), 107. For a similar line of reasoning, see Carr, *What Is History?* 122–23.

[32] See *The Doctrine of Saint-Simon: An Exposition. First Year, 1828–1829,* tr. Georg G. Iggers (Boston, 1958), 60–61.

[33] Kahler, *Meaning of History,* 195–96.

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zation in the ancient Near East.[34] In a similar vein, Kahler observes the steady "secularization, rationalization, scientification and technicalization" of human existence.[35]

These trends do not necessarily represent progress in so far as we mean by progress development toward more moral institutions and more moral man. They may constitute change rather than improvement, change which in the growing rationalization of life may actually be undermining the very values that the classical theorists of progress regarded as the criteria of progress. Moreover, we are admittedly confronted by the methodological problem of measuring these "trends."

We come closer to the problem of values when we deal with another set of trends that appear to be operating in modern society. Condorcet predicted the disappearance of slavery, the rise of literacy, the diminution of inequalities among the sexes, reforms of prison codes, and the decline of poverty. Again one can hardly deny that these trends have operated during the past 175 years, although it is difficult to measure them. We are, of course, dealing with trends over a relatively short span of time, which may conceivably be reversed either catastrophically through thermonuclear warfare or through the very contradictions within society that these social developments, considered beneficial by Condorcet, may have created. The future may correspond more closely to George Orwell's 1984 than to Edward Bellamy's Boston of the year 2000. Certainly we have in the course of the twentieth century approached Orwell's 1984 in many ways, but we have approximated Bellamy's Boston in even more ways.

In rereading the optimistic literature of the late eighteenth and of the nineteenth centuries we are impressed both by how right the prophets of those days were and by how wrong they were. Condorcet, Saint-Simon, Mill, and Spencer all underestimated the role of evil. "No one, whose opinion deserves a moment's consideration," Mill writes, "can doubt that most of the positive evils of the world are in themselves removable, and will, if human affairs continue to improve, be in the end reduced within narrow limits."[36] They overconfidently predicted the disappearance of war and tyranny. But they were right in many other ways. For, on the whole, the modern world has moved in the direction that the optimists of the Enlightenment and of the nineteenth century predicted. We need only reopen a book like Taine's *Notes on England* in the 1870's or the Quaker report on the condition of

[34] Weber, "Science as a Vocation."
[35] Kahler, *Meaning of History*, 196.
[36] John Stuart Mill, "Utilitarianism," in *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill*, ed. Marshall Cohen (New York, 1961), 339.

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the colored population of Philadelphia in 1849 to be reminded how widespread and how severe was the spiritual and material degradation existing a century ago. Not that such degradation does not exist today even in the technologically more developed countries, but for the first time we can envisage the radical decline of disease, ignorance, and poverty throughout the entire world. Barring a world war, we may safely predict the continued increase in levels of health, education, and welfare throughout the world, at least in the foreseeable future.

Certainly we cannot formulate a law of progress in the sense in which Comte and Buckle sought such laws. The very complexity of human society makes it doubtful that quantitative formulations similar to those developed in the natural sciences will ever be of more than restricted use in the cultural sciences. There is no certainty that the trends we have described will not be reversed. Moreover, we may be accused of having chosen values by which to measure progress that have no basis in human nature as such, but are merely the products of a time or of our subjective decisions. Finally, it may be argued again that the very values of modern civilization that we have identified as progressive may lead to their own destruction.

This brings us back to the question of whether there are real norms by which historical change can be measured. The idea of progress, rooted in the doctrine of natural law, assumed that there were. It assumed that there was a human nature, that the end of human life was happiness, that the full achievement of happiness for man involved the full development of his rational as well as his physical potentialities,[37] and that the structure of human nature therefore gave the moral world a degree of rational coherence. The core of this ethics was summed up in the doctrine of natural rights, in the belief in the right of the individual to his person. This assumed that violation of these rights, as constituted by murder, slavery, or exploitation, represented objective wrongs. Neither Locke, nor Voltaire, nor Kant attempted to prove the existence of such rights by reason. They considered them to be self-evident truths, data known through direct ethical intuition, conditions of human consciousness.[38]

Was the Enlightenment belief in a rational ethics mere wishfulness, or did it possess a basis in reality? Is there below the pattern of diverse customs and manners a basic substratum of human values? Historism has denied this. Related to this problem is the question of whether there is such a thing as mental health. Are there criteria of mental normalcy, or is normalcy

[37] *Ibid.*, 331.
[38] See Alfred Cobban, *The Crisis of Civilization* (London, 1941), 108–109.

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merely a statistical concept relative to a given culture? May we speak of a sane society, as Erich Fromm has? Was Nazi Germany merely a different or a sick society? Was Auschwitz merely an instrument of policy or of immorality? Is the murderer merely a man with a different morality or a morally sick man?

If there are norms of morality deriving from human nature, or even merely norms of mental health, then there exists the theoretical possibility of a normal society. We may then conceivably in the moral and social world be confronted by something resembling the progress in the sciences and technology, by a tendency to achieve greater rationality. We may then perhaps see in the great revolutionary movements of modern history the groping toward morally more rational institutions, even though there are reverses and we can discern no clear or predetermined pattern.

All of this must be said with extreme caution. We are not dealing with a movement that as yet (or perhaps ever) can be formulated as a general social law, as certain of the nineteenth-century advocates of the theory of progress had believed possible. We are dealing at most with certain observable trends about whose direction there can be disagreement. And even if we agree that society has moved toward greater intellectualization, equality, and wealth, we may question whether such a movement has been beneficial to man or whether, as cultural pessimists from Kierkegaard to Ortega y Gasset have suggested, it has merely emptied man of his spiritual substance and laid the foundations for the most systematic tyranny of man over man. How can we speak of progress in a moral sense in the age of totalitarianism and total war? The Final Solution, which in a sense symbolized the high point of the application of modern science and technology in the service of inhumanity, appears to spell the total absurdity of progress. Gerhard Ritter, Meinecke, and many others have suggested that the roots of the Nazi Revolution were to be found in the rationalistic and equalitarian beliefs of the French Revolution and in the breakdown of religious beliefs and traditional class structures. The growing concern with economic welfare, which Comte and Spencer had hailed, Ritter saw as a major contributing factor to modern barbarism. But was Nazism really a phenomenon of the "failure of modern mass democracy" as Ritter suggested?[39] Was it not in an important way the revolt of an atavistic political romanticism against the conditions of modern society in a country in which, Ritter and Meinecke notwithstanding, Enlightenment values and democratic institutions were

[39] See Gerhard Ritter, "The Fault of Mass Democracy," in *The Nazi Revolution: Germany's Guilt or Germany's Fate?* ed. John Snell (Boston, 1959), 76–84; cf. Friedrich Meinecke, *The German Catastrophe: Reflections and Recollections,* tr. Sidney B. Fay (Cambridge, Mass., 1950).

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underdeveloped, in which the gap between modern realities and premodern attitudes and class structure was much greater than in most Western democratic countries?

It was the great failing of the prophets of progress that they underestimated the extent of man's destructiveness and irrationality. The failing of historism and of historicism has been in misunderstanding the role of rationality and morality in human behavior. We can accept the idea of progress today only with serious qualifications. Progress as yet is only a hypothesis and a very questionable one. The reality of human evil, as Reinhold Niebuhr has suggested, makes the attainment of any perfect social state impossible. The complexities of history, in which, as Löwith pointed out, conscious human action always has results other than those intended,[40] make calculated progress much more problematic than the great believers in social engineering of the last century had believed. As Popper has warned us, the idea of progress as a "belief in Inexorable Laws of Historical Destiny" has led to the sacrifice of countless men and women upon the altar of totalitarian fanaticism.[41] While progress seems to be invalidated as a universal idea, there is, nevertheless, a rational basis to the belief that within limited spheres man's actions can create more rational conditions. Despite the strong currents of cultural pessimism that have marked our age, the social policies of all nations have proceeded on the assumption that within limited, defined goals, planned progress is possible. And the goals of this progress, except where they have turned toward war and repression, have remained the classical values of the Enlightenment: the improvement of education, health, welfare, and individual dignity. The programs of aid to underdeveloped countries have underlined to what extent modern civilization, despite its negative aspects, has been regarded in both the Western as well as the non-Western countries as a positive good, not only in a material, but also in a spiritual sense. Indeed, the twentieth century, which has seen the decline of the idea of progress as a respectable theory of history, has also witnessed the idea more firmly established as a working assumption of public policy than it ever was in the optimistic century that preceded it.[42]

In conclusion, we must frankly admit that the idea of progress is un-

[40] Karl Löwith, "Die Dynamik der Geschichte und der Historismus," *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XXI (1952), 217–54.

[41] See the dedication to Popper's *Poverty of Historicism*.

[42] Carr in *What Is History?* notes an "expansion of reason" (p. 190) in the twentieth century and optimistically interprets the increase in social and economic planning as "an advance in the application of reason to human affairs, an increased capacity in man to understand and master himself and his environment, which I should be prepared, if necessary, to call by the old-fashioned name of progress" (pp. 188–89).

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tenable as a scientific explanation of historical movement. The theory is not, however, without rational foundations and deserves much more serious re-examination than it has received in recent thought. And independent of its role as a cognitive theory regarding the nature of history, the idea of progress must also be viewed as an ethical hypothesis that assumes, rationally or on faith, the reality of positive values and the meaningfulness of ethical behavior.

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King's Friends, Civil Servants, or Politicians

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MANY English administrative historians have seen the beginning of the modern civil service in the 1850's. They say that the report submitted by Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1853 on the civil service, or the establishment of the Civil Service Commission in 1855, or both, account for the present civil service in England. Before this time, according to this school of thought, and especially during the eighteenth century, government departments were usually staffed by incompetents who procured their jobs through "influence." Patronage, not merit, determined the occupant of an office. Indeed, to the administrative historians the public service often seemed little more than a dumping ground for younger sons. Such a system, of course, resulted in scatterbrained administration. Excessive fees, inefficiency, insecurity of tenure, graft, and general corruption scarred the eighteenth-century "civil service."[1]

Such an oversimplified picture of administration suited advocates for reform of the system, but scarcely bears the test of close examination. If the civil service in its modern form did not exist until the nineteenth century, many civil servants who closely resembled their modern counterparts must have worked to benefit the public in the eighteenth century. Indeed, without the foundations laid by an incipient civil service and the civil servants of the eighteenth century, the modern system could probably not have been created. No institution emerges from a vacuum.[2]

Yet recent historical research into the civil service has reacted far too strongly to the old interpretation. It has imagined an almost fully developed eighteenth-century civil service. Some writers seem to imply that every man who held a minor public office, especially during the reigns of George II and

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[1] These views are expressed by Robert Moses, *The Civil Service of Great Britain* (New York, 1914), and Herman Finer, *The British Civil Service* (London, 1937). S. E. Finer, "Patronage and the Public Service," *Public Administration,* XXX (Spring 1952), 329–60, repeats the same charge and attempts to explain the reason for the poor state of the civil service.

[2] Eighteenth-century administration, of course, developed from the offices, and the men who staffed them, of the preceding century. See G. E. Aylmer, *The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I, 1625–1642* (London, 1961), for perhaps the best picture of administration during the earlier period.

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George III, was *ipso facto* a civil servant. They point out that in essence the Secretaries and Undersecretaries to the various departments performed the same functions as their modern successors. They supervised clerks, knew the nice administrative details of their departments, handled routine, advised their superiors, and saw to the execution of orders. Many of them, admittedly, served doubly as "men of business" and civil servants. For instance, a faithful subordinate might be rewarded with a secretaryship to the Treasury when his chief became First Lord of the Treasury. The new Secretary, in addition to his administrative duties, would continue to serve his chief politically by negotiations with other factions, by lining up votes, by pamphleteering, and by all other measures necessary to the functioning of a political group. Such action, though incompatible with modern notions of the civil service, went with the job in the eighteenth century. If the civil servants held seats in Parliament (forbidden today), and spent government money to secure the parliamentary election of men favorable to the ministry in power, they again only carried out part of the accepted requirements of their offices. The true test of a civil servant, once in office, was not whether he "politicked," but whether, regardless of the fortunes of his former political chief, he retained ultimate allegiance to the king's administration and the king's bidding.[3]

But to "do the King's bidding," Herbert Butterfield argues, made many of these men not public officials but tools of the king. The latter used them to intrigue against, and perhaps to help overthrow, a ministry responsible to Parliament. The term "King's friends," used in the eighteenth century and repeated by Whig historians, might be more fitting than the term "civil servants." Indeed, "King's friends" particularly suits the reign of George III, who used the votes of minor officials to oust governments he did not like. "The King's friends were not in fact 'civil servants,'" Butterfield states, "though we may accept the view that they were like them in certain respects."[4]

Obviously, interpretations of the civil servants differ radically. The reason for these conflicting views lies in the assumption that the policy of each major government department with respect to its employees was basically the same, and that the Secretaries and Undersecretaries tended to think and act uniformly. Even Sir Lewis Namier, whose brilliant insights and detailed

[3] Sir Lewis Namier advanced this type of argument in his classic, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (2d ed., London, 1957), and it has been continued by those who have written in his tradition. The same arguments, to a greater or lesser degree, may be found in *The Jenkinson Papers, 1760–1766*, ed. Ninetta S. Jucker (London, 1949); John Brooke, *The Chatham Administration, 1766–1768* (London, 1956); and Ian R. Christie, *The End of North's Ministry, 1780–1782* (London, 1958).

[4] Herbert Butterfield, *George III and the Historians* (London, 1957), 294.

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studies of individuals killed the giants of Whig mythology, put the Admiralty Secretaries, the Treasury Secretaries, and the Undersecretaries of State into one category. Thus Admiralty Secretary John Cleveland, Undersecretary of State Robert Wood, and Treasury Secretary James West, although in different departments of government, enjoyed essentially the same power and held the same attitude toward politics and administration.[5]

But Cleveland, West, and Wood did not think and act uniformly, and the offices they occupied differed not only in structure and function, but also in regard to personnel policy. If the administrative offices and the minor men, or "subministers," who staffed them are to be understood, the simple classification must be discarded. Indeed, at least four basic patterns are evident:[6] civil servants, very close to their modern counterparts, worked in the eighteenth century; so also did minor politicians, "King's friends," and "placemen," some of them holding offices similar to those normally associated with the civil service. The distinction between these groups depended upon the office and the person holding it, as the careers of some of the more prominent subministers illustrate.

Important among these minor men were the Secretaries to the Admiralty. Not only did they adopt civil servants' attitudes, but the department itself fostered a civil service spirit. The third report of the parliamentary commissioners appointed in 1785 to inquire into the "fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments" in public office complimented the Admiralty. It praised clerks and other officers for their efficiency and noted that "the Secretaries in this Office, contrary to the custom observed in the other Departments into which we have enquired, appear to be Stationary Officers; a practice of which we have sufficiently shown our approbation, by recommending it in our former Reports, wherever it could with propriety be adopted."[7] Why did the Admiralty merit such praise? How was the department organized?

The clerical staff of the Admiralty, headed by the chief clerk at a salary normally of four hundred pounds a year, numbered only eight on the ordinary establishment throughout most of the eighteenth century. Salaries ranged from two hundred pounds per year for the second clerk to sixty pounds per year for the last clerk. Since extra clerks entered the department from time to time as circumstances demanded, by 1784 the Admiralty also

[5] Namier, *Structure of Politics*, 36–42.

[6] Even among these patterns there is considerable divergence.

[7] *Reports of the Commissioners Appointed by Act 25 Geo. III. cap. 19. to enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites and Emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the several Public Offices therein mentioned* (London, 1806), 3d Report, 1787, 102. Most of the argument developed about Admiralty Secretaries is taken from the much more detailed study by Franklin B. Wickwire, "Admiralty Secretaries and the British Civil Service," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXVIII (May 1965), 235–54.

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employed eleven extra clerks with salaries of from one hundred pounds to fifty pounds.[8] The department assured them all steady pay, but also allowed them extra income. Those employees who spent extra hours at the board during wartime received as much as twenty guineas a year for their added work. One extra clerk, employed as a translator, received twenty pounds a year in addition to his salary.[9] Another clerk, who had charge of money used to defray contingent office expenses, received as a reward 2 per cent of the sums paid.[10] In addition, all clerks enjoyed various fees, which they guarded jealously, for performing their various tasks.[11] Thus, with the exception of taking of fees, frowned upon by government today, any clerk with initiative could supplement his income at the Admiralty by doing additional work not incompatible with modern notions of the civil service.

If the Admiralty offered clerks a steady and adequate income while in office, it also aided them in time of sickness and pensioned them generously. For example, when one of the staff suffered a serious illness in 1751, the board ordered ten guineas to be paid "towards his relief, under his present illness."[12] All retiring clerks were pensioned, but in a curious manner. James Alcock, a clerk of thirty-three years' service, retired in 1773. Instead of pensioning him from Admiralty funds alone the Lords Commissioners also required Alcock's colleagues to contribute. Simple reasoning stood behind this position: since all those subordinate to Alcock gained by his retirement, all should help pay the pension. A vacancy needed filling; the clerk immediately junior to Alcock would fill it, and so on down the line. A new clerk would then be added to the staff. The Admiralty contributed £75 a year to the pension, and the clerks to receive promotion contributed £120 proportionately as their salaries warranted.[13] The Admiralty repeatedly used such a method. If an exceptionally useful man retired, the Lords Commissioners were quite generous. In 1766 an employee who had started as a clerk and worked his way to Deputy Secretary retired

[8] For these figures, see Admiralty Secretary Philip Stephens to the commissioners of the land tax, Apr. 26, 1765, Public Record Office, Admiralty 2/538 [hereafter cited as PRO, Adm.], 392, PRO, Adm. 3/48, minute of Aug. 31, 1744 (O.S.), and *Reports of the Commissioners*, 126–27.

[9] PRO, Adm. 3/51, minute of June 18, 1745 (O.S.).

[10] *Ibid.*, Adm. 3/56, minute of Jan. 5, 1746 (O.S.).

[11] The question of clerical fees indeed proved troublesome to the Admiralty on one occasion. When Secretary Josiah Burchett assigned his colleague, Second Secretary Thomas Corbett, half his fees in 1741, the clerks protested vehemently that the Second Secretary should relinquish the fees he had enjoyed as deputy. The Admiralty upheld Corbett by asserting that the arrangement between Burchett and Corbett was a private matter that created no vacancy among the clerks. The employment of Deputy Secretary remained "dormant" in Corbett. (See *ibid.*, Adm. 3/45, minute of Feb. 23, 1741 [O.S.].)

[12] *Ibid.*, Adm. 3/63, minute of Nov. 14, 1751 (O.S.).

[13] *Ibid.*, Adm. 3/80, minute of Aug. 25, 1773.

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with four hundred pounds out of the ordinary estimate of the navy. He received a further eighty pounds a year, which had formerly been given him for house rent, and a cash gift of five hundred pounds.[14]

The Admiralty thus paid ample salaries, provided opportunities for its staff to make extra money, pensioned its former employees, and even issued sick pay. Its promotion policies lacked such breadth. Although the board always secured its Secretary on the basis of his proved merit, it promoted the lower ranks by strict seniority. If this system discouraged individual initiative, it nonetheless ensured promotion for every subordinate and ensured continuity in administration. Furthermore, the Admiralty offered security. The Lords Commissioners established fairly simple, certainly not onerous, work rules. As long as a clerk obeyed them he need never fear for the loss of his job. Although the Lords refused to tolerate continued inefficiency, they seemed more than willing to give a clerk a second chance.[15]

The Admiralty Secretaries rarely needed a second chance, for they were not often inefficient. Most of them (and there were only four during the greater part of the eighteenth century) had many of the good traits that should be associated with the civil servant of today: they enjoyed permanence of position and long familiarity with their branch of service, combining intelligence, ability, tireless and devoted attention to duty, with objectivity and a desire to cut "red tape." The Admiralty could dismiss a Secretary whenever it chose, but never availed itself of this privilege because it had originally employed him on the basis of merit. Secretaries indulged in politics to a small extent; at the least they provided for friends and relatives. In addition they served in Parliament to give the expert naval information which that body and its committees required from time to time. "Politicking," however, was a side line, and the Admiralty Secretaries centered their careers upon the details of naval administration.

Mastery of these details required time and effort. The Secretaries supervised the clerical staff, corrected all errors signed by subordinates, signed nearly all the official letters from the Admiralty to all subordinate naval officers, consuls, envoys, colonial governors, and to the other administrative branches of government. Furthermore, they received all the incoming mail, read it themselves, handled all the routine, and only brought to the board's attention such

[14] *Ibid.*, Adm. 3/74, minutes of Oct. 25, Nov. 10, 1766.

[15] The Lords seemed especially lenient toward those with family connections. The son of Secretary Burchett, who began as a clerk in 1727, had so neglected his duty by 1760 that he had not even bothered to report for work several days in a row. He was dismissed, but upon his petition for reinstatement the Admiralty relented. Solely out of "consideration of the long services" of his father, the Admiralty re-employed Burchett in his old position. Less than a year later Burchett asked to retire, and the Admiralty pensioned him at £120 a year for life. (For the entire incident, see Secretary John Cleveland to Burchett, Dec. 26, 1760, Jan. 5, 1761, *ibid.*, Adm. 2/717, 38, 61, and *ibid.*, Adm. 3/69, minute of July 31, 1761.)

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matters as they deemed worthy. An efficient navy, therefore, demanded an able man with permanent tenure in the Secretary's chair.[16] The first four Secretaries to the Admiralty in the eighteenth century—Josiah Burchett, Thomas Corbett, John Cleveland, and Philip Stephens—were able, had enjoyed extensive naval administrative experience before receiving their position, and retained their jobs regardless of political change.

Three of these four men owed their initial appointments to admirals with personal knowledge of their capabilities. Burchett served as private secretary to Admiral Edward Russell and weathered fleet action. He went from admiral's secretary to Admiralty Secretary in 1695.[17] Admiral John Byng introduced Corbett into the Admiralty as a clerk in 1715 and used his influence to promote him to chief clerk in 1723. Corbett then worked his way to the secretaryship upon Burchett's retirement. Since Corbett had previously endured naval combat as Byng's secretary, he could claim several years' experience at sea and administrative experience at the Admiralty before becoming Secretary.[18] Cleveland enjoyed vast administrative experience before entering the Admiralty. He began his career as a clerk in the Navy Office, worked his way to the position of Clerk of the Check and Mustermaster at Plymouth, and then became Clerk of the Acts. The Duke of Bedford transferred him to the Admiralty as Second Secretary in 1746.[19] Cleveland's successor, Stephens, began his career as a victualing clerk. Lord Anson noted his ability and transferred Stephens to the Admiralty as a second clerk. From this position Stephens rose gradually to the secretaryship in 1763.[20] In the case of each Secretary the influence of a powerful person accounted for the initial Admiralty appointment, but such patronage was accorded on the basis of demonstrated personal merit.

Once in office, the Secretaries did not act as political agents for their

[16] One Admiralty Secretary summarized his duties before parliamentary commissioners in 1784. (See *Reports of the Commissioners,* 96.) His summary, however, does not begin to describe the sheer weight of business that pressed the Admiralty Secretary. Only the Admiralty papers at the Public Record Office reveal the extent of the Secretary's duties.

[17] For Burchett's career, see G. F. James, "Josiah Burchett, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1695–1742," *Mariner's Mirror,* XXIII (No. 4, 1937), 477–97.

[18] Corbett's career is discussed in *The Byng Papers, Selected from the Letters and Papers of Admiral Sir George Byng, First Viscount Torrington, and of his son, Admiral the Hon. John Byng,* ed. Britan Tunstall (3 vols., London, 1930, 1931, 1933), III, xi–xvi. See also *The Dictionary of National Biography . . . From the Earliest Times to 1900* [hereafter cited as *DNB*], ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (63 vols., London, 1885–1900), XII, 207.

[19] Cleveland, whose father had been a naval officer, attended Westminster School. Clerk of the Acts was one of the eight commissioners of the Navy Office, and it entailed considerable duties. For his background and career, see *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry,* ed. L. G. Pine (London, 1952), 442–43; G. F. Russel Barker and Alan H. Stenning, *The Records of Old Westminster* (3 vols., London, 1928), I, 194; "Cleveland's memorial," British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 32,945, fol. 499 [hereafter cited as BM, Add. MSS.], quoted in Namier, *Structure of Politics,* 40, and PRO, Adm. 3/55, minute of July 31, 1746 (O.S.).

[20] For Stephens career, see *DNB,* LIV, 179–80.

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superiors; nor did they form lasting political attachments to them, although the work required might occasionally be political in nature. Corbett perhaps best expressed all their attitudes toward politics. "If to acknowledge the eternal ties I have to you," he declared to his patron Byng, "if to mention your name with the honor I owe you be to be a whig, I shall so far glory in the name. Nor would you, I am sure, think the worse of me, if I bore the same respect for any benefactors on the tory side which I should most certainly, had I the same obligations to them I had to you. These are all the lengths of party I know." To emphasize this attitude he added: "I know no intrigue in business but honesty, nor any party, but gratitude to my patrons and to those who support me in the world."[21]

The politicians evidently respected this position. Burchett remained at his desk during the political upheavals of Queen Anne's reign, and he weathered the crisis of 1714 when the Admiralty commission underwent an entire change of personnel. Again, the year 1782 would surely have seen a change in Admiralty Secretaries were the politicians to consider the post as nothing more than a political plum. Earlier, the opposition had consistently criticized Lord North's conduct of the war in general and the Earl of Sandwich's conduct of the navy in particular. Yet when the Earl of Bristol denounced Sandwich in 1779, he at the same time called Secretary Stephens "the most diligent, most intelligent, and indefatigable man in business I ever knew; and from whose absence or sickness, I am not at all surprised at any thing that may happen to go wrong."[22] The object of this lavish praise was at the time preparing Sandwich's defense against the Earl's attack.

But the Admiralty suffered even more than political attacks by naval officers opposed to the American war. It was also assailed by Admiral Augustus Keppel and his supporters on other grounds. Keppel had become involved in a personal dispute with Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, a member of the Admiralty Board, over responsibility for failure to win a naval battle with the French off Ushant. Both admirals had participated in the engagement—Keppel commanding—and each blamed the other for failure. The whole episode resulted in courts-martial that acquitted both officers, and in Keppel's refusal to continue on active service. Stephens became involved in the business in his official capacity as Secretary. He wrote some sharp notes to Keppel, one of which ordered him to strike his flag. As might be expected, the admiral sent Stephens a nasty rejoinder. Surely, if the Rockingham op-

[21] Thomas Corbett to Sir George Byng, Jan. 3, 1772, *Byng Papers*, ed. Tunstall, III, 45.

[22] *The Parliamentary History of England from the Norman Conquest in 1066 to the Year 1803*, ed. William Cobbett (36 vols., London, 1806–20), XX, 439.

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position, and Keppel in particular, deemed Stephens politically attached to the North ministry, they would have fired him when Keppel became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1782.[23] Yet Secretary Stephens retained his post. He even remarked at the time: "It is impossible for anybody to be more cordial or friendly than Admiral Keppel is to me."[24]

Cordiality also marked the relations between the Board of Customs and its Secretaries. Indeed, for all the sinecures that infested the whole customs service, central administration of the customs bore resemblance to the civil service of today.[25] Statute forbade the Customs Commissioners to sit in Parliament. Thus, although political appointees, the commissioners toiled with less apprehension than their colleagues at the Admiralty over the political consequences of their work. Evidently the politicians honored the permanency of a commission at the Customs Board, for many commissioners served through several changes of government.[26] This security of tenure provided experienced administrators, whom the Treasury, ultimate authority over the customs, consulted constantly. The Customs Board frequently proposed to the Treasury plans for administrative changes designed to benefit the service, changes that the Treasury usually accepted. Even when the Treasury refused recommendations, as it might in matters affecting patronage, the Customs Commissioners enjoyed freedom to criticize Treasury decisions.

Edward Hooper, a typical civil servant, was one such critic. Born in 1715, the eldest son of Edward Hooper and Lady Dorothy, daughter of the second Earl of Shaftesbury, Hooper attended Trinity College, Oxford, "took his meals" at the Middle Temple, and became a barrister in 1734. From that year until 1748 he represented Christchurch in Parliament. He then turned from politics to the civil service, relinquished his parliamentary seat, and became a Customs Commissioner, serving the Customs Board continuously from 1748 to 1793.[27] Relentlessly, he sought to achieve a more efficient customs

[23] Reverend Thomas Keppel, *The Life of Augustus Viscount Keppel* (2 vols., London, 1842), II, 87–89, quotes the exchange between Keppel and Stephens over the Ushant fiasco and its ensuing complications.

[24] Philip Stephens to the Earl of Hardwicke, Apr. 1, 1782, BM, Add. MSS. 35,619, fol. 124. The Hardwicke papers, of which this letter is a part, contain several letters from Stephens.

[25] Elizabeth E. Hoon, *The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696–1786* (New York, 1938), studies thoroughly the entire customs organization.

[26] For example, Samuel Clarke served from 1694 to 1708; Sir Walter Young from 1714 to 1731; Sir John Stanley from 1708 to 1744; Sir John Evelyn from 1721 to 1763; and Brian Fairfax from 1763 to 1785. W. R. Ward, "Some Eighteenth-Century Civil Servants: The English Revenue Commissioners, 1754–98," *English Historical Review,* LXX (Jan. 1955), 25–54, offers particulars on the backgrounds and political connections of several customs commissioners.

[27] Information on Hooper is taken from Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1715–1786* (4 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1891), II, 686; Gerrit P. Judd, *Members of Parliament, 1734–1832* (New Haven, Conn., 1955), 233; and John Hutchins, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset* (Westminster, Eng., 1861), 384–85.

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system even in face of opposition from the mightiest politicians. In 1756 he bearded the Duke of Newcastle, First Lord of the Treasury. He averred that regardless of the Duke's wishes, experience rather than patronage, and efficiency rather than the influence of powerful "friends," should determine the occupancy of important customs posts.[28] In 1765 the commissioner challenged another Treasury head, Lord Rockingham. The latter had violated customs procedure by appointing a customs officer in the port of London, and Hooper expressed his dissatisfaction vehemently.[29] Few members of any other administrative boards could take such liberties with their superiors without fear of reprisal.

Commissioner Hooper expected no less freedom for the Customs Secretaries. In many ways he considered the Secretary's post the most important one in the service. The duties were many and difficult. The Secretary had to prepare all business to be considered by the board and had to supervise the execution of the board's decisions. He had to oversee the clerical staff and guard against errors and abuses by the clerks. Indeed, he was directly responsible to the Customs Commissioners for the efficient management of the entire customs service. Hooper rightly considered that only the most thoroughly trained men should ever be elevated to the secretaryship. The appointment of an unqualified person to such a demanding position, or the failure to grant permanent tenure to the qualified Secretary, would have resulted in administrative chaos.[30]

The Customs Board tried, however, to avoid chaos. As pointed out by E. E. Hoon, men who aspired to the secretaryship reached it only after long, hard work in various branches of the service.[31] Only four Secretaries served the board throughout most of the eighteenth century: Charles Carkesse, William Wood, John Freemantle, and Edward Stanley. Each rose through administrative service with the customs, proved knowledge of its demands, and concern for the public welfare. The careers of both Wood and Stanley illustrate this point. Wood climbed the clerical ranks, gaining both knowledge and experience. He became Secretary in 1742, but earlier revealed that concern for the public welfare that helped him earn his position. From 1738

[28] Edward Hooper to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 10, 23, 1756, BM, Add. MSS. 32,864, fols. 216–17, 385–91. The Newcastle papers, Add. MSS. 32,679 to 33,201, are filled with letters from subministers in many departments of government.

[29] Hooper wrote to the Treasury, through its Secretary, Charles Lowndes, in unequivocal terms: "No board of treasury, or first lord commissioner of that board, has ever (to the best of my knowledge and belief) broke in upon that right to the disposal of the preferable list in the port of London which the board of customs has ever had, and exercised." Hooper therefore informed Lowndes that Rockingham's proposal would not be transmitted to the Customs Board. (See Hooper to Lowndes, Dec. 14, 1765, PRO, Treasury 1/141 [hereafter cited as PRO, T.], fols. 423–24.)

[30] Hooper to the Duke of Newcastle, Apr. 23, 1756, BM, Add. MSS. 32,864, fols. 385–91.

[31] Hoon, *English Customs, passim.*

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on he pressed the ministers in power to carry out his plans to increase British commerce.[32] As late as 1764, when he was eighty-five and one year away from death, Wood still spoke out for the nation's needs. He suggested to Treasury Secretary Jenkinson that the proposed revenue measures for America might do more harm than good because the ministry lacked information "of several things from the Plantations." He therefore suggested postponement of action until a full study could be made of American conditions.[33] In assuming such a position, Wood acted as a conscientious civil servant should. He did not consider the political implications of taxation, but only wished that all administrative considerations should be examined before action was taken. In light of what ensued from American taxation, the ministry might have done well to heed the advice of an experienced civil servant.

Wood's successor (after Freemantle), Stanley, entered the customs service about 1736 as a clerk in the office of the Customs Secretary. By 1756 twenty years' hard work made Stanley, according to Commissioner Hooper, a "thorough master" of plantation business and a "faithful, able & diligent clerk." In 1757 Stanley was promoted to clerk of the northern ports, one of the most important positions under the Secretary, and one that prepared its occupant to assume secretarial duties. In spite of his "influence" with Lord Granby, Stanley was prevented by the strict rules of seniority from gaining the secretaryship until 1767. Freemantle succeeded Wood in 1765, but died after about a year in office. Stanley succeeded Freemantle and proved himself an able administrator during the American Revolution.[34] Thirty-one years' experience in positions that prepared him for the secretaryship furnished him with impressive credentials for that office.

Neither Stanley nor Wood was a member of Parliament. Neither was a politician. Neither feared for loss of position upon changes of government. They secured their secretaryships because of their experience in the customs service, and they looked to that service as their primary duty.

The Secretaries to the Board of Trade also looked to administration as

[32] See, for example, Wood's letters to Newcastle concerning British ships captured by Spain, reinforcement of the British fleet at Gibraltar, encouragement of British settlement in America, and permanent occupation of Cuba for the enlargement of British commerce, during the period 1738–1741, in BM, Add. MSS. 32,691, fols. 427–29; *ibid.*, 32,692, fols. 288–91; *ibid.*, 32,698, fols. 24–27, 336–37; and *ibid.*, 32,696, fols. 328–30.

[33] William Wood to Charles Jenkinson, Jan. 10, 1764, *ibid.*, 38,202, fol. 23, quoted in *Jenkinson Papers,* ed. Jucker, 254.

[34] Information on Stanley may be gleaned from John G. Nichols, *The Herald and Genealogist* (8 vols., London, 1863–74), VI, 346–50; Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis,* IV, 1342; *The Record of the Royal Society of London* (London, 1940); a letter from Edward Stanley to Joseph Ayloffe, Dec. 10, 1768, BM, Add. MSS. 38,514, fol. 57, and to James West, Nov. 9, 1759, *ibid.*, 32,898, fol. 200. Lord Granby relates his connection with Stanley in a letter to George Grenville, June 13, 1764, in Sir John Murray's collection of Grenville papers, Albemarle Street, London, file A 3.

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their primary duty, and the board followed policies similar to those of the Admiralty and Customs with regard to its employees. It offered clerks the same security and assurance of promotion as did the Admiralty. Its leniency with its subordinates, however, led to clerical carelessness which in turn probably pushed the board into a "civil service" policy even more advanced than any held by Admiralty or Customs. The Plantation Office believed it suffered excessively from clerical misdemeanors—loss of books and papers and selling board information to "strangers"—and hence did more to stop these abuses.[35] In 1764 it introduced several innovations. Unprompted by "reformers" and, since not self-righteously advertised to the general public, largely unnoticed, these changes hoped to increase both the competency and honesty of the clerical staff. The board fired four clerks and its Deputy Secretary because of old age and inefficiency, and instituted new procedures for securing personnel. Originally, individual commissioners had nominated prospective clerks for jobs in turn as positions became vacant. Now it required the nominating official to present a "character" account of his man and the prospective appointee to submit specimens of his handwriting. The commissioners jointly examined the applicant and ascertained his qualifications, then re-examined his handwriting and voted on his acceptance. The Plantation Office finally demonstrated its faith in an improved staff and its hope to secure better employees in the future by raising salaries. The Deputy Secretary, for example, received a raise from two hundred pounds to three hundred pounds.[36] The Board of Trade, with far less influence than the Admiralty and with far less responsibility than the Customs, rivaled its fellows in concern over personnel.

Possibly this concern accounted for the exceptional men who stepped from relative obscurity into prominence during the century. During the existence of the Plantation Office, from 1696 to 1782, its clerical positions consistently trained colonial governors, diplomats, and extremely able "civil servants." The first Secretary to the board, William Popple, resigned in 1707 to assume the higher responsibilities of a colonial governor. His grandson, Allured Popple,

[35] The complaints registered by the board against its clerks usually concerned abuse in taking of fees, carelessness with books and papers, and allowing unauthorized persons to examine board materials. Oliver M. Dickerson, *American Colonial Government* (Cleveland, 1912), 72, asserts that by 1731 Plantation Office fees had become so confused that the Privy Council ordered a definite table posted for all to see. Perhaps the most flagrant example of clerical violation of trust occurred in early 1740 when a complaint was lodged that a letter from the deputy governor of Pennsylvania had been "lately surreptitiously obtained from this office." In June 1748 the commissioners ordered that all clerks lock up all books and papers and leave the key with the Secretary or clerk of reports before leaving, and gave notice that any clerk caught handing out papers in the office without permission would be fired. (See *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations*, 1741/2–1749 [London, 1931], 375.)

[36] For these reforms, see *ibid.*, 1764–1767 (London, 1936), 89–91, 107–108.

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also stepped from the secretaryship to a governorship, that of Bermuda. Richard Cumberland, the eminent playwright who served as the board's Secretary during the American hostilities, was entrusted with a delicate diplomatic mission to Spain. Ambrose Serle, clerk of reports, accompanied the Howe peace commission in 1776 as Undersecretary, and several clerks embarked on lesser missions all during the century.[37] The board's most important Secretary, John Pownall, devoted forty-seven years to public service.

Pownall enjoyed enough family influence to start as a clerk at the Board of Trade in 1741, but through his own merit he climbed steadily to become Secretary in 1758. Eschewing politics, he focused his talents on administration and retained the trust of policy makers until he left the board in 1776. Indeed, he was thought so learned in American matters that he became the first Undersecretary to the American Department, created in 1768. He participated in the formulation of the Proclamation of 1763, advised the Grenville ministry on precedents for American taxation, did preliminary work on the Quebec Act, and was so trusted by Lord Dartmouth, the American Secretary of State from 1772 to 1775, that he shared with his chief the initiation of American policy. Pownall served briefly as a member of Parliament for St. Germans, but used Parliament only as a steppingstone to a "less fatiguing situation." In 1776 he resigned as Undersecretary to the American Department and assumed the less demanding duties of an Excise Commissioner. Later, Pownall became a Customs Commissioner, not retiring altogether from public life until 1789. All who had worked with him, including such different personalities as Lords Hillsborough, Halifax, Dartmouth, and Shelburne, trusted his judgment and testified to his ability.[38]

If Pownall, Stephens, Hooper, Wood, Stanley, and many others resembled modern civil servants, partially because they served departments that encouraged promotion to Secretary through experience and merit, security of tenure, and consistency in administrative policy, other departments failed to create such conditions. The offices of the two Secretaries of State (three between 1768 and 1782), for example, usually offered few opportunities to an Undersecretary who aspired to the permanence and stability of his fellows at Admiralty, Customs, and Trade.[39] The State Departments were considered the private domains of the Secretaries, to be organized and utilized in any

[37] For a brief statement of these careers, see Mary P. Clarke, "The Board of Trade at Work," *American Historical Review*, XVII (Oct. 1911), 27–28. The best study of the Board of Trade and its personnel is A. H. Bayse, *The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1748–1782* (New Haven, Conn., 1925).

[38] For further information on Pownall, see Franklin B. Wickwire, "John Pownall and British Colonial Policy," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XX (Oct. 1963), 543–54.

[39] For an excellent history of the Secretaries of State, see Mark A. Thomson, *The Secretaries of State, 1681–1782* (Oxford, Eng., 1932). Margaret M. Spector, *The American Department of the British Government* (New York, 1940), elaborates on the third department created in 1768.

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way they saw fit. The Secretary possessed full authority to hire and fire his entire staff, including the Undersecretary. Indeed, the crown assumed no responsibility even for paying the Undersecretary until 1770, so much was the position considered the special concern of the Secretary of State.[40] Although the necessity for continuity in organized administrative procedures prompted most Secretaries to continue with the clerical staffs of their predecessors,[41] Undersecretaries paraded through office in rapid succession. The American Department alone employed seven different ones during its fourteen years of existence.

The Undersecretary's job—unstable, semiofficial, and semiprivate, for the most part—went not to civil servants as did secretaryships to the three boards. The politicians usually assumed that the undersecretaryship did not amount to much more than a political job, and they seldom accepted the employees of their predecessors who might be politically unreliable. The occasional Undersecretary who wished to rise above partisanship, to form an attachment to government rather than to persons or particular political points of view, often discovered that his office precluded permanent employment. Perhaps nothing better reveals the instability of the undersecretarial position, the extent to which its holder depended solely on the good will of the Secretary, than Robert Bell's petition to the Earl of Shelburne in 1782. Bell, who had served Lord Hillsborough in the North ministry, wished to continue in his undersecretaryship. He hoped to be considered politically impartial, an administrator associated with no particular policy but ready to carry out the orders of whatever minister happened to head the department. He feared, however, that Shelburne might take a different view.

> I take the first opportunity to congratulate your lordship upon this mark of the royal favour; and at the same time to express my hope, that I shall be honour'd with your lordship's protection and approbation in my office of under-secretary, which I now enjoy with Sir Stanier Porten, whom the King has permitted to retire: and I assure your lordship, that I shall give my best attention, and exert my utmost endeavours to render my services agreeable to your lordship.

Bell failed to keep his job.[42]

Many Secretaries to the Treasury also failed to keep their jobs. The Treasury, so like the Admiralty in basic organization and even more in-

[40] PRO, T. 1/519, fol. 16, T. 1/487, fol. 293.

[41] Lord Shelburne, for example, preferred experienced clerks. The Shelburne Papers, Volumes CXXXIV and CXLVII, William L. Clements Library, show that in 1768 Shelburne, as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, had a staff of thirteen clerks. Four of these had served twenty-two, seventeen, twelve, and twelve years respectively.

[42] Robert Bell to the Earl of Shelburne, Mar. 26, 1782, Shelburne Papers, Vol. CLXVIII. Possibly Shelburne would have in the end retained Bell had not Bell, himself, felt unable to cope with the burdens of office any longer. (See Bell to Shelburne, Apr. 9, 1782, *ibid.*)

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fluential in major governmental policy, established no more firmly than the Secretaries of State the principle of well-trained, permanent Secretaries. Perhaps because the Treasury employed four permanent specialists, chief clerks trained to know all Treasury business and specifically responsible for each of its branches, it never felt the need for permanent Secretaries.[43] Perhaps because the First Lord of the Treasury's office was so administratively powerful and politically responsible—he controlled all the patronage and as "prime minister" towered above the junior commissioners[44]—the men who successively headed the Treasury appointed politically reliable "friends" to the secretaryships, whether or not they possessed any qualifications for the job. In any event, the position did not necessarily, or even usually, go to professional administrators. Samuel Martin, one of the Treasury Secretaries in 1761, described vividly in a letter to his father the nonprofessional atmosphere surrounding his position:

> Introducing Byam [Samuel's brother] into the treasury as a clerk is altogether out of my power; the appointment of clerks being the Duke of Newcastle's peculiar province, and this kind of officer being in such request, that he stands engaged for vacancies after one another more in number than will probably happen during his life. Preparing & qualifying Byam to succeed me, whenever I am removed to an higher station, if he is to be maintained at your expence in this town until these events happen will be in effect to breed him to no calling at all. I stand (God knows) little chance of high & easy preferment. Nor if I did, should I think of Byam's chance of succeeding me in ye treasury worth a six pence after all the pains that could be taken to qualify him. He must be in Parliament, must be qualified with 300 £ a year as well as knowledge, he must be thought capable of being usefull in an office that will not endure any negligence or amusement; & what is no less essential than the rest I must have power to drag my brother after me into a lucrative employment & one of the most envied (so little are the alleys of it known) in the kingdom.[45]

[43] The four principal clerks worked directly under the Secretary. Their value to the Treasury may in part be gauged by their pay, which before Shelburne's reform of the Treasury in 1782 came from the fee fund, but after that date amounted to eight hundred pounds per year. A minute of 1759 determined their duties. One of them read to the board petitions, memorials, and similar documents. A second drew, examined, or corrected, when necessary, all warrants, orders, and contracts to be signed by the Lords Commissioners. A third entered the Treasury minutes and wrote the letters for issuing sums to the army, navy, and ordnance, noted the sums issued, and the date of issue. He also carefully filed the memorials when completed. The fourth principal clerk wrote letters and references according to board direction and handled parliamentary business. "Tho' this be the general distinction proposed," the Treasury minute concluded, "yet each of the principal clerks is expected to be ready to undertake any business that the lords, or either of their secretaries shall require." (See PRO, T. 29/33, 218–19, minute of July 31, 1759; for a study of the Treasury and its policies, see Dora Mae Clark, *The Rise of the British Treasury: Colonial Administration in the Eighteenth Century* [New Haven, Conn., 1960].)

[44] As Jenkinson remarked, "all preferment" at the Treasury was "in the Gift of the First Lord." (See Jenkinson to Edward Hooper, July 17, 1767, BM, Add. MSS. 38,305, fol. 29.)

[45] Samuel Martin, Jr., to Samuel Martin, Sr., Nov. 22, 1761, *ibid.*, 41,347, fols. 109–10. The correspondence between Martin and his father, *ibid.*, 41,347–41,348, and the miscellaneous

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Martin obviously believed that "knowledge" and usefulness to the office rated below Parliament and influence in the eyes of his superiors.

Some professionals, to be sure, without the sort of "influence" Martin described, occupied the Treasury secretaryships and the undersecretaryships of state. Civil servants, whose talents and ambitions resembled those of their colleagues at the Admiralty and Customs, occasionally held the positions during the century. Edward Weston, for example, successfully pursued an undersecretarial career. He became Undersecretary of State to the Northern Department under Charles Townshend in 1729 and remained as an Undersecretary of State until 1746, long after Townshend had left. Although absent from the undersecretariat while in Ireland as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Weston returned to the Department of State in 1761 to serve successively Lord Bute, George Grenville, and Lord Halifax.[46] Sir Stanier Porten, another professional, began his career with the embassies in Naples, Madrid, and Paris. His diplomatic experience prepared him well for the Departments of State. He entered the Northern Department in 1763 as an Undersecretary, remained there to 1770, then became Undersecretary to the Southern Department until he retired in 1782.[47]

The Westons and Portens had their counterparts at the Treasury in the first half of the eighteenth century. During this period one of the two Secretaries remained in office regardless of ministerial changes, although his colleagues went out upon successive alterations in the Treasury commission. The Secretaries who retained their positions, William Lowndes from 1695 to 1724 and John Scrope from 1724 to 1752, established their competency and acquired awesome reputations.[48] None dared challenge their credentials—Scrope even defied a parliamentary committee[49]—and their stability sharply

papers of Samuel Martin, Jr., *ibid.*, 41,355, provide some insight into the relations of a Treasury Secretary to his department.

[46] Weston's papers have been published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Reports on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Eglinton, Sir J. Stirling Maxwell, Bart., C.S.H. Drummond Moray, Esq., C. F. Weston Underwood, Esq., and G. Wingfield Digby, Esq.* (London, 1885), 199–520.

[47] For Porten, see *DNB*, XLVI, 167.

[48] Both Lowndes and Scrope are in the *DNB* (XXXIV, 210–12, LI, 141–42), although neither article does justice to its subject.

[49] When Sir Robert Walpole fell, a parliamentary committee of secrecy called Scrope as witness in their investigation of Walpole's use of secret service money. The committee hoped the Secretary's evidence might strengthen their case. But Scrope, who had been strongly attached to Walpole, refused to testify against his former chief. "He had laid his case before the King," Scrope averred, "and was authorized to say, that the disposal of money, issued for secret service, by the nature of it requires the utmost secrecy, and is accountable to His Majesty only; and therefore His Majesty could not permit him to disclose anything on the subject." (See William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford* [3 vols., London, 1880], III, 274.) Horace Walpole reported that the "secret committee are in great perplexities" about Scrope's attitude, who not only refused the oath but "threatened the Middlesex justices who tendered it to him." William Pulteney described Scrope

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contrasted with the impermanence of their fellow Secretaries and the commissioners. During their tenures nine other Secretaries came and went. From 1695 to 1714 there were seven changes in the Treasury commission and three different Lord Treasurers, and from 1715 through 1752 there were eleven different First Lords of the Treasury.[50]

But the permanence found by Lowndes, Scrope, Weston, and Porten eluded most men who occupied the same positions. The Treasury secretaryships and the undersecretaryships usually went instead to minor politicians, to men whose political views or whose personal and political attachments to major politicians overrode their administrative ambitions. William Knox, for example, Undersecretary from 1770 to 1782, typifies more than Weston the eigthteenth-century Undersecretary of State. Knox exemplifies a certain sort of minor politician who did not attach his fortunes to a leading figure, but who maintained a constant political view and worked to implement it. With administrative ability and facile pen he joined a faction sympathetic to his outlook, and on the basis of his experience he secured office in 1770.

Born in Ireland, Knox began his public career when he disembarked in Savannah, Georgia, in 1757, to take up the duties of a provost marshal. He soon observed the seemingly perennial conflicts between the "republican" assemblies and the authority of the crown, as represented by the governor and council, and decided in favor of the crown. He then secured membership in the council and fostered measures to increase its strength. After acquiring land, property, and a certain amount of prestige he sailed for England. In 1762 he obtained an assistantship to the Georgia colonial agent and a year later became sole agent. By now a convinced advocate of parliamentary supremacy and a strong partisan of anyone with similar beliefs, he became attracted to Grenville, the head of the ministry. This attraction, fatal for his agency, launched him on a new career. In 1765 he wrote a pamphlet in support of the Stamp Act, *The Claim of the Colonies to an Exemption from Internal Taxes,* and dedicated it to the man responsible, the "most vigilent [*sic*], upright and able chancellor of the Exchequer" since Sir Robert Walpole. The lower house of the Georgia assembly understandably fired Knox, and he spent the next five years as a political polemicist for the Grenville faction. He wrote articles for John Almon's *Political Register,* engaged in a brief pamphlet war with Edmund Burke,[51] and produced a highly significant

"as immovable as a rock." Walpole and Pulteney's opinions are quoted in John B. Owen, *The Rise of the Pelhams* (London, 1957), 108–109.

[50] Dora Mae Clark, "The Office of Secretary to the Treasury in the Eighteenth Century," *American Historical Review,* XLII (Oct. 1936), 22–45, provides further information on the Treasury Secretaries.

[51] In 1768 Knox produced *The Present State of the Nation Particularly with Respect to Its*

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tract championing Parliament's supremacy over the colonies and its concomitant right to tax them. Published in 1769 under the title *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed,* it is perhaps the most soundly reasoned polemic in favor of parliamentary supremacy produced during the revolutionary era.

One year after the publication of the pamphlet, the intercession of Pownall secured for the author an undersecretaryship to the American Department. In this position, in a ministry generally favorable to his American ideas, Knox continued to work as a political propagandist. He published broadsides in favor of both the Quebec Act and the Boston Port Bill, and usually sorted the information that went into the official government newspaper, the *Gazette.* Knox easily managed to serve the successive heads of the American Department, for all were more or less committed to the ministry's policy of militant action against the colonies. But when the Rockingham government, with Lord Shelburne as a Secretary of State, took office in 1782 and repudiated the American policy of its predecessor, Knox lost his position. Shelburne, whom Knox disliked personally, had no intention of retaining a subordinate of such radically different political persuasion.[52] After 1782 Knox constantly employed his pen, citing his political record, in attempts to obtain a job or a seat in Parliament. He secured little more, however, than agencies for Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island before he died in 1810.[53] Had he been more an administrator, or less a man of political ideals, he might have earned greater rewards for himself. As it was he remained, like so many Undersecretaries, a minor politician.

Men like Knox, whose political and personal ambitions exceeded their administrative ones, often attached their fortunes to a particular politician.

Trade, Finances &c. &c. Addressed to the King and Both Houses of Parliament, which stung the Rockinghamites to the quick, for it praised Grenville's American legislation and condemned unmercifully the repeal of the Stamp Act. Burke attempted a rebuttal in 1769 with his *Observations on a Late State of the Nation.* Knox in turn responded with *An Appendix to the Present State of the Nation.* After this exchange Burke abandoned specific controversy for broad political principle with his *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents* in 1770.

[52] Knox claimed that Shelburne, when head of the Board of Trade, sent him on a mission to Paris in 1763 and then abandoned him entirely to his own devices. Whatever the truth of the matter, Knox secured a measure of revenge twenty years later. After Shelburne had dismissed him as Undersecretary, and Shelburne in turn had lost office, he was able to thwart the Earl's plans. At the ministry's behest in 1783 Knox drafted an order in council designed to exclude the United States from the West Indies trade, an action that destroyed all Shelburne's hopes for reciprocal commerce between the British Empire and its former colonies.

[53] Knox is in *DNB,* XXXI, 336–37. His papers, deposited in the William L. Clements Library, are calendared reasonably well by H.M.C., *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections* (Dublin, 1909), VI; see also his *Extra Official State Papers Addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Rawdon and the other Members of the two Houses of Parliament Associated for the Preservation of the Constitution and Promoting the Prosperity of the British Empire* (Dublin, 1789).

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They shared the vicissitudes of politics with him, and tasted both the fruits of office and the dregs of opposition. Lord Sandwich appointed his private secretary, Richard Phelps, as an Undersecretary to the Southern Department, but Phelps left office with Sandwich.[54] Charles Jenkinson became an Undersecretary of State because of his political attachment to George Grenville. The latter persuaded Lord Bute to grant Jenkinson the position when Bute became a Secretary of State in March 1761. Yet when Bute became First Lord of the Treasury, Jenkinson relinquished his undersecretaryship to serve as the First Lord's private secretary.[55] Treasury Secretary James West remained steadfastly loyal to the Duke of Newcastle. He lost office when the Duke left the Treasury in 1756–1757, re-entered office with him, and left with him again in 1762.[56]

Thomas Whately, as loyal to his chief as was West to Newcastle, had more administrative ability than many of those minor politicians bound by ties of friendship and political conviction to major figures. A Cambridge alumnus, lawyer, Shakespearean scholar, and landscape gardener of continental fame,[57] Whately became Treasury Secretary in August 1763 through Grenville's "favour." During that period Whately did excellent work. He mastered routine and willingly shouldered administrative responsibility. He participated significantly in the preparation of the Sugar Act, and, with the help of other subministers, drafted the Stamp Act.[58] Careful of the interests of his chief, he never recommended unqualified "friends" to government positions, although Grenville gave him considerable patronage rights.[59]

[54] See the Earl of Sandwich to the Postmaster General, Sept. 9, 1763, in *Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III,* ed. Joseph Redington and Richard Arthur Roberts (4 vols., London, 1878–91), I, 302, no. 986. Phelps lost office when the Duke of Grafton replaced Sandwich and brought in his own men. (See Duke of Grafton to Postmaster General, July 19, 1765, *ibid.,* 578, no. 1846.) In *The Fourth Earl of Sandwich, Diplomatic Correspondence 1763–1765,* ed. Frank Spencer (Manchester, Eng., 1961), there is one letter to Phelps, and he is mentioned several times. The Sandwich papers, property of Lord Hinchingbrooke, show the Sandwich-Phelps relationship. The Phelps papers, BM Stowe MSS. 257–59 are disappointingly sparse.

[55] *Jenkinson Papers,* ed. Jucker, x–xi.

[56] Namier discusses West extensively in *Structure of Politics;* see also *DNB,* LX, 330–31. Brooke, *Chatham Administration,* 286–88, notes Newcastle's efforts on behalf of his former secretary after 1762 and illustrates West's fierce loyalty to the Duke. Brooke considers that "the relations between the two men did them both honor."

[57] In 1770 Whately produced *Observations on Modern Gardening, Illustrated by Descriptions,* which went through several editions and was translated into German and French.

[58] Whately's recommendation, evidently, determined the tax of three pence on the gallon for imported foreign molasses. (See Allen S. Johnson, "The Passage of the Sugar Act," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., XVI [Oct. 1959], 511–12.) Historical controversy has enlivened attempts to identify the author of the Stamp Act, but Whately's importance to it is unquestionable. The Treasury adopted basically "Mr. Whately's plan of a Stamp Act for the colonies & plantations," on December 7, 1764. (See BM, Add. MSS. 35,910, fols. 310–23.)

[59] Whately actually asked Grenville to withdraw a William Williams from the collectorship of Newfoundland, although the First Lord had originally appointed Williams at the Secretary's request, because Whately did not think Williams "equal to" a position that required a "very

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His normal administrative routine—parliamentary bills, supervision of personnel, preparation of board agendas—was supplemented by political work while in office. For Whately never forgot his first duty of attending to his chief's political interests. When David Hartley ridiculed Grenville's finances in 1764 with a pamphlet entitled *The Budget,* Whately immediately defended his chief with a tract entitled *Remarks on the Budget.* An avowed political polemic, it attempted to justify Grenville's revenue policy to the reading public. In 1765 the Secretary plunged into an even more politically controversial matter, the ministry's American measures. In *The Regulations lately made concerning the Colonies* Whately lauded the proposed Stamp Act (which had not yet been passed) and averred that only parliamentary supremacy over America could guarantee colonial and British prosperity. Grenville lost office in the year that the second pamphlet appeared, and Whately trod into the "wilderness" of opposition with him. For the next five years, until his chief's death, he served as "man of business" for the Grenville faction. He sought no private gain, only the good of his "party." He believed that office should come to him only by means of his group's return to the ministry, and he strove to attain that goal. Indeed, according to John Brooke:

> The active management of the party passed almost completely into Whately's hands: he rounded up supporters (using Grenville's name); sought out topics for motions; pressed Grenville to write to this follower or call upon that; and took upon himself the drudgery which Grenville would not do. Whately also directed party strategy; he led it into collaboration with the Rockinghams, and formed connections with Burke and Dowdeswell. It was he who prolonged the life of the Grenville party after its leader had tired of it.[60]

Only upon the death of his chief did he seek office for himself, and even then he tried to bring Grenville's followers into the North ministry.[61] Whately was a staunch friend and a capable administrator, but he was a politician rather than a civil servant. His first loyalty went to Grenville and Grenville's politics, not to the Treasury or government service.

Occasionally men began their careers as did Whately, but rose higher than he while retaining as much loyalty to their superiors. The career of Edmund Burke offers an obvious example. Burke emerged from obscurity

able, active man." (See Whately to Grenville, Apr. 11, 1765, Sir John Murray's collection of Grenville Papers, Whately file. I have been able to examine this collection through the gracious permission of Sir John Murray.)

[60] Brooke, *Chatham Administration,* 269.

[61] Whately is in the *DNB* (LX, 429–30), but only his letters, scattered throughout *The Grenville Papers: Being the Correspondence of Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, K.G., and the Right Hon. George Grenville, Their Friends and Contemporaries,* ed. William James Smith (4 vols., London, 1852–53), and his many pamphlets convey an adequate picture of the man.

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as Lord Rockingham's secretary to become Paymaster General of the Forces, and, finally, a famous orator and a leader of the parliamentary opposition to the Younger Pitt.[62] Richard Rigby, a less illustrious figure, also advanced beyond a secretaryship. Rigby performed the same services for the Bedford group as did Whately for Grenville, but he was able to secure the paymastership of the forces when the Bedford faction went over to the ministry in 1768.[63]

If Rigby and Whately tied their fates to a particular faction and rode the vicissitudes of fortune with it, another group of men rejected permanent political attachments or constant political views. This group, for lack of a better name, might be called "King's friends." They were king's friends because they always went from job to job in the king's service and were usually friends of the monarch in the literal sense of the word, men he trusted in a private, intimate way. Unlike the professional administrators, or civil servants, they held a private, as opposed to an institutional, idea of their place in government. To these king's friends, serving the king meant literally serving the king, not the impersonal king's government, or even a department of that government.

The conception of service to the king, regardless of the ministry in power, may have helped many ambitious and not overly scrupulous men to rationalize their actions. A person dedicated to this theory of his place in government could, without betraying his own principles, change both his offices and his political connections whenever the opportunity came to better himself. He could acquire power, prestige, and wealth, all in the name of service to the king. Subministerial office and professional administration would be merely steppingstones to better positions. Loyalty to a particular politician or a particular political group could be discarded anytime in the name of higher loyalty to the king. Jenkinson, for example, though he began as a subminister loyal to a particular politician, abandoned that politician and others during his successful career. Had Jenkinson been a dedicated administrator like Stephens, of course, continued service with his department would inevitably have meant that he work for the successive politicians who headed that department. But Jenkinson's subministerial, administrative service lasted only four years. After that he obtained higher offices.

[62] So much has been written about Burke, and his career is so well known, that a footnote seems superfluous. Attention should be called, however, to the definitive edition of his correspondence, *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke,* ed. Thomas Copeland (4 vols. to date, Chicago, 1951–).

[63] For Rigby, see *DNB,* XLVIII, 302–304. His letters to Bedford, which illustrate his work and relationship with the Duke, are in *Correspondence of John Russell, Fourth Duke of Bedford* (3 vols., London, 1846).

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A graduate of Oxford, from 1756 to 1761 Jenkinson looked desperately for some official position in the government. He worked for several months as a "sort of apprentice Under-Secretary of State," but found no real opportunities for advancement until he cultivated thoroughly an acquaintance with Grenville. As a result of Grenville's persuasion, Lord Bute, when he became Secretary of State in 1761, appointed Jenkinson an Undersecretary. Although supposedly "absolutely in love with Lord Bute," Jenkinson did not hesitate to re-enter Grenville's service as a Secretary to the Treasury, when Grenville became First Lord, in April 1763. He left office with Grenville in 1765, but did not continue with him as did Whately. Although he was in opposition during the Rockingham ministry, Jenkinson obtained a seat at the Admiralty Board during the Chatham administration and followed it with a junior commissionership of the Treasury until 1773. During the North ministry, in the midst of the American Revolution, he became Secretary at War. During this period he acquired the reputation for having "secret" access to the King and an "unconstitutional" influence upon him. Although the opposition in Parliament exaggerated his status, Jenkinson assuredly enjoyed the friendship and personal esteem of George III. Then, when North's stock fell and the North government collapsed, Jenkinson again abandoned a sinking ship. The changes of 1782–1784 left his opportunities for office undamaged, and he found a new place for himself in the Pitt administration. When taxed with his desertion of North by Richard Sheridan, Jenkinson responded: "I by no means wish to deny that I supported many of Lord North's measures during his Administration, but in the office which I filled as Secretary at War, I was not responsible for the ministerial plans sent me from the Treasury." "Yet," according to Ninetta Jucker, "he had always approved of the American war, believed it both just and necessary, and he had defended it in Parliament in 1782."[64] In Pitt's ministry Jenkinson secured a peerage, chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, and presidency of the Board of Trade. During his career he had served or headed numerous offices and had worked for Grenville, Bute, Chatham, North, and Pitt. His only unquestionable loyalty, beyond that to himself, had been to the King.[65]

Two of Jenkinson's colleagues, William Eden and John Robinson, were also king's friends. Eden's career paralleled Jenkinson's. He began as an Undersecretary of State in 1772, held numerous other offices, became a prominent ambassador of Pitt's, received a peerage, and still held office as

[64] *Jenkinson Papers*, ed. Jucker, xxvii. Jucker quotes a response attributed to Jenkinson by the memoirist, Nathaniel Wraxall.

[65] For Jenkinson, see Jucker's introduction, *ibid.*, and *DNB*, XXIX, 309–10. The Liverpool manuscripts (BM, Add. MSS. 38,197–38,470) include the papers of Jenkinson.

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President of the Board of Trade as late as 1807.[66] Robinson, on the other hand, achieved neither peerage nor high office. He launched his career as a "man of business" for the borough-gathering Sir James Lowther, and after deserting Lowther became a Secretary to the Treasury under North in 1770. Since he managed elections for Lowther, and managing government elections was part of the Treasury Secretary's job, Robinson was well qualified for his post. Furthermore, he proved an able administrator in other work connected with his office. Because he later won the special confidence of the King, the Secretary exercised considerable political influence during the American war. Then he not only abandoned North, but worked actively against him in 1783 and 1784. Robinson applied his administrative talents to the defeat of the Fox-North coalition and the bringing of Pitt to power. Yet the onetime Treasury Secretary never attained another important administrative or political office (unless Surveyor General of Woods and Forests be considered as such), and he declined a peerage in 1784.[67] Perhaps Robinson was a "King's friend" in a truer sense of the word than Jenkinson or Eden, a man who carried out the King's wishes first and rewarded himself second. John Pownall, it is true, changed offices in the king's service, as did the king's friends. Pownall went from Secretary to the Board of Trade to Undersecretary of State, to Commissioner of Excise, to Commissioner of Customs. But each of these offices was administrative in nature. Pownall remained to the end an administrator. Men like Pownall, committed to institutional service, or Whately, committed to politics, might have been personally known to the King, but they were not king's friends.

If Robinson might be classed as a king's friend, Pownall, as a civil servant, and Whately, as a politician, some men fit scarcely any category. For example, the career of Grey Cooper (and there were many more like him) seems to defy classification. Was Cooper a king's friend, civil servant, or politician? Was he all three? Was he none? He seems not to have been a king's friend, but does he even fall into one of the other two categories? Cooper started administrative service as an avowed politician. He openly espoused the Rockingham cause in 1765 and wrote pamphlets in support of the group. According to the publisher John Almon, Cooper became Secretary to the Treasury because of his polemical ability.[68] Yet Cooper did not leave

[66] For Eden, see *DNB,* XVI, 362–64. His papers, the Auckland Manuscripts, are BM, Add. MSS. 29,475, 34,412–34,417.

[67] For Robinson, see *DNB,* XLIX, 26–28; see also Christie, *End of North Ministry.* William T. Laprade first described Robinson's work in defeating North and bringing in Pitt in "Public Opinion and the General Election of 1784," *English Historical Review,* XXXI (Apr. 1916), 224–37; see also *The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson, 1774–1784,* ed. *id.* (London, 1922).

[68] In 1765 Cooper produced two pamphlets, *A Pair of Spectacles for Short Sighted Poli-*

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office with Rockingham, but remained at the Treasury through the administrations of Chatham, Grafton, and North. He started as a politician and then deserted his patron. Soon the wheel turned full circle. Cooper attached his fortunes to North and fell with the latter in 1782. He only emerged publicly again for a brief period as a Treasury Lord during the Fox-North coalition. He seems to have had difficulty deciding between politics or administration. When he finally did make the decision, he backed the wrong horse.[69]

Cooper, like Robinson, or Jenkinson, or Stephens, worked hard for whatever he achieved. One group of men did not. Eighteenth-century England abounded with sinecurists, who, for purposes of convenience, may best be described as "placemen." They held a "place," a sinecure, for which they did nothing and received substantial reward. The collectors of customs in many of the ports of England, for instance, were placemen. Persons holding these offices rarely performed their duties, but instead farmed out their work to deputy collectors. The collector—a patent officer—did nothing in return for the patent he had secured through "influence."[70] The office of *Gazette* writer in the Secretary of State's Department, although formerly useful, became a sinecure in the eighteenth century.[71] Even hard-working subministers might hold places that provided them with an unearned income. Pownall, as energetic an administrator as any connected with the government, held a "place" as Provost Marshal for the Leeward Islands at one hundred pounds.[72] Horace Walpole, perhaps the most famous sinecurist of the century, held among other offices the Usher of the Receipt of the Exchequer. According to J. Steven Watson, Walpole was so entrenched that the Younger Pitt postponed until Walpole's death the abolition of this "costly and useless" office.[73] Walpole was many things—wit, memoirist, gossip, author, prolific letter writer—but he was neither an administrator nor a particularly successful or

ticians and *The Merits of the New Administration Truly Stated*. The first one defended the Rockingham ministry against the assault that Charles Lloyd, Grenville's private secretary, had launched against it in a work entitled *An Honest Man's Reasons for Declining to Take Part in the New Administration*. Cooper's second pamphlet, a true panegyric, seemingly could not find enough praise for the Rockinghamites. According to John Almon, *Biographical, Literary, and Political Anecdotes of Several of the Most Eminent Persons of the Present Age* (3 vols., London, 1797), I, 92–94, the pamphlets secured Cooper the Treasury secretaryship.

[69] Cooper is in *DNB* (XII, 144–45), but a complete, and in some particulars more accurate, sketch of his life is also located in the British Museum. (See *Athena Suffolcienses, or a Catalogue of Suffolk Authors with some Account of their Lives, and Lists of their Writings*, Vol. III, *During the Nineteenth Century* [1847], fol. 9.)

[70] Hoon describes the collectorship and other sinecures in *English Customs*.

[71] Thomson, *Secretaries of State*, 149.

[72] BM, Add. MSS. 22,129, fol. 25.

[73] J. Steven Watson, *The Reign of George III, 1760–1815* (Oxford, Eng., 1960), 284. On pages 60 and 61 Watson discusses briefly the "civil service," but his description of continuity in administration can be applied universally only to the clerical staffs, not the subministers.

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prominent politician. A man's status as a politician, civil servant, or king's friend was in no way affected by his holding of any of the numerous sinecures. On the contrary, his holding of a sinecure might be determined by his status in one of those categories. While sinecures could reward persons for services rendered or induce important people to support government, it was the support or service itself, not the resulting sinecure, that decided a man's standing in politics or administration.

Indeed, that standing depended upon many factors. Where subministers are concerned, the traveler who takes the deceptively easy road of generalization will find himself tormented by potholes, detours, and bogs. It is not justifiable to label a man such as Whately, whose whole career centered upon the politics of his chief, a civil servant because during one brief period of that career he served as a Secretary to the Treasury. It is even less justifiable to consider Pownall a "placeman" simply because he held a sinecure. A person who dedicated forty-seven years of his life to public administration, who served with distinction the Plantation Office, the American Department, the Excise Commission, and the Customs Board, gave far more to the government than the moderate wealth he received in return.

Whether a man was a civil servant, a king's friend, or a politician depended to a great extent on the man himself. Each individual who entered office cherished different dreams, different ambitions, and different ideas on the way to achieve them. Some persons unquestionably wished merely to enjoy the emoluments and prestige their employment gave them. Others took jobs in order to implement the designs of their friends and political superiors. Yet others looked upon subministerial office as a career and a national trust to be exercised in the interest of the country.

Any man who took the last view, who wished to be a civil servant, nearly in the modern sense of the term, needed to find the proper situation. For a person's standing in the administration often rested as much upon the office as upon the man. An undersecretaryship of State offered far less opportunity for the would-be civil servant than a secretaryship to the Admiralty. The former guaranteed no permanent tenure, until 1770 no permanent salary, and no clear opportunity for permanent public service.

Of course, clerkships may have been permanent in the State Departments, as everywhere else, but a clerk was not a subminister. A clerk obeyed orders. He did not prepare agendas, supervise correspondence, or manage a staff. He never felt, as did the subminister, responsibility and the power that came from knowing that every letter over his signature expressed the official will of an important government department. He was but one of the "15,884,

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whose salaries amounted to £1,315,422 5s. 2d. a year," who staffed the "53 [public] offices of the United Kingdom."[74]

The subministers had some realization of their importance. Their contemporaries too recognized, as have subsequent historians, their unique place in the government of the eighteenth century. Each had his contribution. A politician might formulate political doctrine and impress it upon posterity, as did Knox, or he might shape political parties and hold them together, as did Whately. A civil servant could exemplify the ideal of unstinted and unselfish devotion to the public welfare, thereby contributing immensely to the idea of a civil service, as did Pownall and Stephens. A king's friend, like Robinson, could lend powerful support to a king who was not yet a figurehead. Perhaps each could make his contribution because the others offered complementary services—because all of them, with determination and luck, could be king's friends, civil servants, or politicians.

[74] "Accounts and Papers," *Parliamentary Papers*, XVI (London, 1828), as quoted in Emmeline W. Cohen, *The Growth of the British Civil Service, 1780–1939* (London, 1941), 23.

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Grant or Greeley? The Abolitionist Dilemma in the Election of 1872

James M. McPherson*

THE important role in the Liberal Republican party of 1872 played by such erstwhile Free-Soilers and antislavery Republicans as Charles Francis Adams, Salmon P. Chase, Horace Greeley, George W. Julian, Carl Schurz, Charles Sumner, and Lyman Trumbull was noted by contemporaries and historians alike. Julian, for example, wrote in his memoirs that he was "delighted" by the presence "of the old Free Soilers of 1848 and 1852" at the Liberals' Convention. And a careful historian has stated that "the most striking feature" of the Liberal Republican party "was the large number of free-soilers and founders of the Republican party" in its ranks.[1] This being so, one might also expect to find a majority of those former abolitionists still alive in 1872 among the supporters of the Liberal movement. In fact, however, more than three-fourths of the abolitionists favored the reelection of President Grant over his Liberal Republican challenger, Horace Greeley.

The reasons for the abolitionists' overwhelming support of Grant were rooted in their continuing concern for the welfare of the freedmen. During and after the Civil War, the abolitionists had championed a program of economic assistance, education, and equal rights for the freedmen, much of which had been enacted by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and the large body of Reconstruction legislation.[2] Most abolitionists discerned grave dangers for the Negro in the Liberal program of "conciliation" of southern whites and "self-government" for southern states. The Liberal Republican movement was an anomalous compound of many personalities and forces, and its major issues were tariff reduction, civil service reform, and sectional reconciliation. But the party's nominee, Horace Greeley, was hostile toward the first and indifferent toward the second, which left

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[1] George W. Julian, *Political Recollections, 1840 to 1872* (Chicago, 1884), 337; Earle Dudley Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919), 61.

[2] James M. McPherson, *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Princeton, N. J., 1964).

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amnesty and home rule for the South as the "chief issue" and "great watchword" of the Liberals in 1872.[3] The Liberal appeal to white supremacist southerners left most abolitionists with no choice but to support Grant and the regular Republicans, who, despite their shortcomings, seemed to stand for federal enforcement of the freedmen's rights in the South.

The origins of the "southern question" as an issue in the election of 1872 go back to the first year of Grant's administration. In 1869 many abolitionists were sharply critical of the President's failure to curb the growing anti-Negro violence in the South. Before his election Grant had struck a vibrant chord in both North and South with his statement, "Let us have peace," but to some abolitionists Grant's long summer sojourn at Long Branch while reports of Ku Klux Klan activity multiplied seemed to indicate a willingness to secure peace by giving free rein to southern terrorists. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society, complained that "while the President smokes, drives, bathes and dances at Long Branch, the Ku-Klux flourish in Georgia." Wendell Phillips declared in disgust that "Gen. Grant is not a traitor; he is only King Log." And David Lee Child asked: "What does our Pres[ident] & Gen[eral] mean by singing 'peace, peace' & dancing down the watering places, while his friends, friends of the country . . . are dying over nearly half of it by midnight assassination?"[4]

Two omens in the summer of 1869 that seemed to threaten the rights of Negroes and the dominance of Radical Republicans in the South (for most abolitionists these two things were synonymous) were the growth of amnesty-reconciliation sentiment in the North and the capture of two southern state governments by a coalition of conservative Republicans and Democrats. Greeley's New York *Tribune* spearheaded the drive for amnesty. Greeley believed that no reconstruction could be successful without the voluntary cooperation of "the better class" of southern whites, especially those of Whiggish antecedents. Such cooperation could be secured, Greeley maintained, only by granting amnesty to all Confederates and by adopting a let-alone policy toward the South. Continued governmental interference in the South, he said, would drive all southern whites into the Democratic party and intensify anti-Negro terrorism; amnesty and restraint would

[3] Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement,* 174–75; see also *ibid.,* 12, 16, 130, 173, 176–77; and Patrick W. Riddleberger, "The Radicals' Abandonment of the Negro during Reconstruction," *Journal of Negro History,* XLV (Apr. 1960), 92–94. The New York *Nation* stated that "reconciliation between North and South" was the "main if not the only point" in the Liberal campaign. (*Nation,* XV [Nov. 14, 1872], 308.)

[4] *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* July 31, Sept. 25, 1869; David L. Child to Charles Sumner, Oct. 19, 1869, Charles Sumner Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

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encourage the growth of a southern Republican party dominated by the South's "natural leaders," who would provide local protection for the freedmen and cooperate with moderate Republicans in the North on national political and economic issues.[5]

Most abolitionists were appalled by Greeley's formula. They believed that to entrust the guardianship of equal rights to former slaveholders and rebels would be a surrender of the nation's obligation to the freedmen. If "the present Virginia, *Tribune,* 'conservative,' doughfaced Amnesty movement" should succeed, wrote Aaron M. Powell, editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard,* "the sequence would be . . . the rehabilitation of the old ruling whites, the rebels of the South, in power." Richard J. Hinton, a British-born abolitionist and former associate of John Brown, declared in 1869 that "this Chase-Henderson-Greeley-Virginia conservative dodge of universal suffrage and amnesty, can only result . . . in disorganizing the reconstruction policy of Congress and disrupting the Republican party in the South."[6] A Radical Republican leader agreed with abolitionists that "the *Tribune* is doing us a vast amount of mischief. It is a regular impostor,—a conservative guerrilla, in radical ranks."[7]

The *Tribune* doctrine first bore fruit in Virginia and Tennessee. The Republican parties in those states split into radical and conservative factions in the summer of 1869, and with the support of the Democrats, the conservatives in both states triumphed in the elections of 1869.[8] In spite of the conservatives' pledge to uphold the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, abolitionists feared that the results of these elections boded ill for the freedmen. Their apprehensions were confirmed when the new conservative government of Tennessee repealed the state-wide compulsory school law, an action that was followed by the closing of most public schools for Negroes in the state.[9] Startled from its lethargy by events in Virginia and Tennessee,

[5] Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley, Nineteenth-Century Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1953), 380–82; New York *Tribune,* Jan. 23, Feb. 18, 27, June 9, July 7, 8, 16, 21, Aug. 7, Sept. 28, Dec. 16, 20, 1869.

[6] *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Jan. 23, 30, 1869.

[7] *Ibid.,* Sept. 25, 1869.

[8] Hamilton J. Eckenrode, *The Political History of Virginia during the Reconstruction* (Baltimore, 1904), 116–25; Thomas B. Alexander, *Political Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1950), 199–225.

[9] Alrutheus A. Taylor, *The Negro in Tennessee, 1865–1880* (Washington, D. C., 1941), 182. John W. Alvord, a veteran abolitionist who was serving as superintendent of education of the Freedmen's Bureau, made a visit to Tennessee in January 1870 and found that most of the public schools had been shut down. The repeal of the state school law had left each county with the option of continuing or closing the public schools, and Alvord reported that only two of the eighty-five counties had kept the schools open. "It makes the heart ache," wrote Alvord, "to see the late flourishing system of this State so suddenly overturned." (John W. Alvord, *Letters from the South, Relating to the Condition of the Freedmen, Addressed to Major General O. O. Howard* [Washington, D. C., 1870], 28–32.)

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the Grant administration took steps to ensure the success of the regular Republicans in the Mississippi and Texas elections late in 1869. Nevertheless, some abolitionists predicted gloomily that the conservative-Democratic coalition in Virginia and Tennessee would pave the way to a similar coalition at the national level in 1872.[10]

During the next two congressional sessions (1869–1871), many abolitionists urged the Republicans to redress the deteriorating situation in the South by passing legislation to protect the Negro's voting rights and to suppress the Ku Klux Klan. "Unless there be some change for the better," proclaimed the *Anti-Slavery Standard,* "nothing is more certain than the absolute failure of reconstruction, and a new, and formidable consolidation of the whites of the South as a political unit." The *Standard*'s Washington correspondent, Richard J. Hinton, noted in February 1870 that the conservative government of Tennessee had adopted a poll tax and had passed a vagrancy law that placed restrictions on the rights of Negro laborers. "It is in a hundred ways like this," wrote Hinton, "that the subtile Southern perverts . . . will seek to destroy, disintegrate and wear away the full value of the rights now imbedded in the National Constitution."[11] Aaron M. Powell maintained that "the *adoption and ratification only* of Constitutional Amendments to guarantee equal civil and political rights to the colored people of the South, will be of little practical value unless supplemented by ADEQUATE PROVISION FOR THEIR RIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT." If the government did not crush the Ku Klux Klan, said Frederick Douglass, the South would "remand the negro to a condition in some respects worse than that from which the war for the Union delivered him."[12]

In a series of Enforcement Acts passed in 1870–1871, Congress legislated federal protection for the Negro's right to vote and authorized the use of troops to suppress terrorism in the South. President Grant's strong support of this legislation, plus his energetic measures to quash the Klan and uphold Radical Republican governments in the South, caused most abolitionists to reverse their earlier critical appraisal of the President.[13]

[10] William B. Hesseltine, *Ulysses S. Grant, Politician* (New York, 1935), 180–84; *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* June 26, July 10, 17, 31, Aug. 7, 14, Sept. 11, 1869; Boston *Commonwealth,* July 10, 17, Aug. 14, 21, 1869; Wendell Phillips to Moncure Conway, Aug. 18, 1869, Lucy McKim-Margaret M. Maloney-Wendell P. Garrison Papers, New York Public Library. The leading historian of the Liberal Republican party concluded that "the Virginia movement was later held, probably with essential correctness, to be a real beginning of Liberal Republicanism." (Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement,* 26.)

[11] *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Dec. 4, 1869, Feb. 26, 1870.

[12] *Ibid.,* Dec. 25, 1869; *New National Era,* Apr. 6, 1871.

[13] 16 US Statutes at Large 140–46, 433–40, and 17 US Statutes at Large 13–15; *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* Apr. 9, 1870; *National Standard,* Dec. 3, 24, 1870, Oct. 21, 1871; *Independent,* Dec. 8, 1870; Boston *Commonwealth,* Apr. 23, 1870, Oct. 14, 1871.

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At the same time, however, Grant's lukewarmness toward civil service reform, his penchant for appointing relatives to office, and his connection with political and economic spoilsmen had tarnished his image among the reform element in the Republican party. Beginning in 1870 the reformers tried to take over the party, and failing in this effort, they bolted the regular organization and formed the Liberal Republican party in 1872. Their chief aim, as Carl Schurz phrased it in his keynote address to the Liberal Convention, was to create a government "which the best people of this country will be proud of."[14]

When the Liberals looked to the South, they discovered that some of the "best people" of that section were the former Confederate leaders, many of whom were now disqualified from office or otherwise estranged from political leadership. From the Liberal viewpoint, the administration's policy of supporting "carpetbag rule" in most of the southern states had resulted in the well-publicized "corruption and disorder" of southern politics. Inevitably, the Liberal movement bid for an alliance with southern conservatives on the basis of home rule and amnesty, in return for a southern promise to accept the Reconstruction amendments and to enforce locally the basic rights of the freedmen.[15]

Theodore Tilton, the brilliant but mercurial editor of the powerful *Independent* from 1863 to 1870, was one of the first abolitionists to join the Liberal movement. At the end of 1870 Tilton had resigned as editor of the *Independent* because of a series of disagreements with the paper's owner, Henry C. Bowen. In March 1871 Tilton founded a new weekly newspaper, *The Golden Age,* which he quickly turned into an antiadministration journal. The previous year Tilton had expressed disgust with Grant's appointments to the New York custom house and had enlisted in the cause of civil service reform. In the spring of 1871 Tilton stated that "a renomination of Gen. Grant would be so injudicious that it ought to be no longer discussed. . . . His administration has been but a mediocre success, and not worth repeating for another four years."[16]

At this time most Liberals hoped to reform the Republican party from within, but as early as March 1871 Tilton hinted at a possible future Liberal-Democratic coalition.

[14] *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz,* ed. Frederic Bancroft (6 vols., New York, 1913), II, 359.

[15] The most thorough and comprehensive studies of the Liberal Republican party are Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement;* Matthew T. Downey, "The Rebirth of Reform: A Study of Liberal Reform Movements, 1865–1872," doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1963; and John G. Sproat, "Party of the Center: The Politics of Liberal Reform in Post-Civil War America," doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1959.

[16] *Golden Age,* June 3, 1871.

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The time has come for somebody to say from a Radical Republican point of view that the triumph of the Republican party—which was at first a political, then a military, and always a moral necessity to the country—would now cease to be any kind of a necessity to it whatever, if the Democratic leaders were wise enough to take a noble advantage of their great opportunity.[17]

Tilton urged the Democrats to repudiate their past opposition to the Reconstruction amendments and return to their Jeffersonian-Jacksonian heritage of equal rights.

Republican as we are we believe that the greatest blessing that could befall the nation in 1872 would be to see the Democratic party ratify the arbitrament of the war, accept the plan of reconstruction, carry out the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments . . . and then, on the basis of universal amnesty . . . take victorious possession of a government which President Grant has failed to administer to the satisfaction of the country.[18]

The New York *World,* leading organ of the Democratic party, had been calling for such a "New Departure" in Democratic strategy for several months. In May 1871 Clement L. Vallandigham, a notorious wartime copperhead, presented a series of resolutions to a county Democratic convention in Ohio stating that the Democrats fully accepted the results of the war and Reconstruction, including the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. In subsequent months Vallandigham's resolutions were endorsed by several state Democratic conventions.[19] Tilton was delighted by the "New Departure." "Since the Democratic party pledges itself to abide by the constitutional amendments," he declared, "and since it wants universal amnesty . . . why not therefore let the better class of Democrats unite with the anti-Grant Republicans?"[20]

Horace Greeley was the foremost northern advocate of amnesty and sectional harmony, and in the late spring of 1871 he made a tour of the South, receiving everywhere the plaudits of southern whites.[21] Tilton, a personal friend of Greeley, seized upon the occasion of the latter's triumphant southern tour to tout the *Tribune* editor as an ideal presidential candidate.

Mr. Greeley's nomination to the presidency would do more to persuade thousands of freedom-loving Democrats to become Republicans than any other act which the Republican party could perform. It is foreign to our spirit to foster hateful memories of the south and its rebellion. . . . The presentation of Mr. Greeley's name to the south would be a tender of fraternal kindliness and the oblivion of civil strife.[22]

[17] *Ibid.,* Mar. 25, 1871.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement,* 68–69.
[20] *Golden Age,* June 10, 1871.
[21] Van Deusen, *Greeley,* 383–84; New York *Tribune,* June 13, 1871.
[22] *Golden Age,* June 24, July 1, 1871. Greeley later gave Tilton credit for "inventing" him as a candidate. (*Ibid.,* Aug. 12, 1871.)

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Few abolitionists followed Tilton's lead into the Liberal movement in 1871. While admitting that Grant had made mistakes, most abolitionists remained loyal to the President because they believed that his southern policy promised the best protection for the Negro. Frederick Douglass considered the Liberal revolt "mischievous and dangerous," and remarked that "whatsoever may be the faults of the Republican party, it has within it the only element of friendship for the colored man's rights." Douglass would rather "put a pistol to my head and blow my brains out, than to lend myself in any wise to the destruction or defeat of the Republican party. . . . [We] will [not] find a candidate of equal strength with General Grant. . . . We must take him or take division, weakness and defeat."[23]

Most of the old-line abolitionists agreed with Douglass. The venerable Theodore Weld returned to the lecture platform and disputed the Liberal-Democratic argument that "the old issues of the war are dead." Weld proclaimed that these issues, especially the duty of the national government to enforce equal rights in the states, "were never more alive than to-day." Gerrit Smith declared that "the re-election of President Grant can alone save our country from the ruin of coming under the sway of the Democratic party."[24] Lydia Maria Child confessed that she had not been enthusiastic about Grant when he was elected, but she now thought him "a better man for the Presidency, than anybody the people would be likely to elect." William Lloyd Garrison distrusted the Democratic "New Departure," and he believed that the Liberal demand for local self-government in the South was "a blow aimed at the exercise of the power entrusted to the President by Congress for the . . . protection of the Southern freedmen and loyalists against robbery, assassination, and lynch-law barbarities."[25]

As the Liberal movement gathered momentum in the spring of 1872, there was some question whether the country's Negro voters would follow the two most prominent antislavery Republicans, Greeley and Sumner, into the anti-Grant camp, or would side with Douglass and a majority of the abolitionists in support of the administration. A colored national convention met at New Orleans in April, and considerable national attention was focused on its proceedings. A minority of Negroes at the convention favored

[23] *New National Era,* June 8, Aug. 10, 1871; Douglass to Cassius M. Clay, July 26, 1871, Frederick Douglass Papers, Frederick Douglass Memorial Home, Washington, D. C.

[24] *National Standard,* Sept. 2, 1871; Gerrit Smith to Sumner, Aug. 8, 1871, Sumner Papers. Smith spoke out repeatedly in defense of the Grant administration, and he received the personal thanks of the President for his efforts. (See Smith to Grant, Sept. 13, 1871, copy in Gerrit Smith Papers, Syracuse University Library.)

[25] Lydia M. Child to George W. Julian, Jan. 31, 1872, Joshua Giddings-George W. Julian Correspondence, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; articles by Garrison in the *Independent,* Jan. 4, Apr. 4, 1872.

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an endorsement of the Liberal movement, but under the leadership of Douglass the assemblage, by a majority of more than two to one, resolved to support Grant, "as all roads out of the Republican party lead into the Democratic camp." From this time until the election, Douglass' famous aphorism—"the Republican party is the ship and all else is the sea"—became the watchword of most colored men.[26]

Despite this demonstration in favor of Grant, several New England abolitionists came out against the President's re-election in the spring of 1872. James Freeman Clarke declared that "Grant is too ignorant & obstinate to be trusted," and William S. Robinson, who wrote under the pen name "Warrington" in the Springfield *Republican,* thought that "Grant has not the slightest comprehension of political government. His administration is a personal one." With regard to federal protection of the freedmen, Robinson believed that "the war is over: we must get back to peace fashions; martial law must give way to civil government. . . . Sooner or later . . . the work of pacification must begin."[27]

The Liberal Republican Convention that met at Cincinnati in May 1872 was a motley gathering. High-minded civil service reformers and free traders vied for attention with office-seeking spoilsmen out of favor with the Grant regime and hoping to recoup their political fortunes through an alliance with the Liberals. Tilton was one of the delegates favoring the nomination of the protectionist Greeley, while the New England abolitionists at Cincinnati supported Charles Francis Adams and tariff reduction. William Lloyd Garrison's youngest son Frank penned a revealing sketch of the factions gathered at Cincinnati:

> I cannot help smiling to see such detested "Radicals" as "Warrington," Frank Bird & Frank Sanborn, such "Pure" politicians as Senator [Reuben] Fenton, James M. Ashley & half a dozen prominent Southern "carpet-baggers" marching on to Cincinnati side by side with the *Nation* & Mr. McKim. Theodore Tilton is also in the line, & the free traders go arm-in-arm with Mr. Greeley. It must be confessed that some of the worst rats on the Republican ship have been the first to swim to the Cincinnati raft, & it augurs no good for a "reform" movement that such men form no small portion of its hosts, & that the whole Democratic party lies in wait & bides its time.[28]

Adams was the favorite when the balloting for a presidential nominee began, but the wirepulling of ambitious politicians and the dedicated labor of

[26] New Orleans *Republican,* Apr. 11, 12, 13, 1872; *New National Era,* May 2, 9, 1872.

[27] Clarke to Anna Dickinson, Apr. 19, 1872, Anna Dickinson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; *"Warrington" Pen-Portraits: A Collection of . . . the Writings of William S. Robinson,* ed. Mrs. William S. Robinson (Boston, 1877), 135, 480; see also the Boston *Commonwealth,* Apr. 20, 1872.

[28] Francis J. Garrison to Fanny Garrison Villard, Apr. 23, 1872, Helen Frances Garrison Villard Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

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Greeley's managers, Whitelaw Reid and Theodore Tilton (who was also a member of the platform committee), brought Greeley the nomination on the sixth ballot. The platform contained, in addition to a civil service plank and a noncommittal tariff plank, resolutions favoring the "equality of all men before the law," no reopening of the questions settled by the Reconstruction amendments, and amnesty, reconciliation, and local self-government for the South. In his acceptance letter, Greeley stated that there should be "no federal subversion of the internal polity of the several States and municipalities." Greeley planned to make Grant's southern policy his main campaign issue "in the confident trust that the masses of our countrymen, North and South, are eager to clasp hands across the bloody chasm which has too long divided them."[29]

Tilton was delighted by Greeley's victory, but the Adams men from New England were appalled, and many of them eventually supported Grant in preference to Greeley. Several abolitionists were sharply critical of the Liberals' platform and nominee. Samuel May thought Greeley's nomination "a most absurd one." May was sorry the *Tribune* editor had "become the turncoat & traitor that he has. . . . It clearly is . . . a Southern nomination; and, if election follows nomination, will be the return of the South to power & control." When the Democratic Convention, as expected, endorsed Greeley and his platform, Garrison was confirmed in his belief that the Liberal movement "is simply a stool-pigeon for the Democracy to capture the Presidency." Mrs. Child admitted that the Liberal and Democratic platforms, with their affirmations of the Reconstruction amendments and of equality before the law, made a good appearance,

> but the Rebels and Democrats have taken care to put in some loopholes through which they can creep out of all they have promised. They claim "self-government for the States;" which means the "State Sovereignty" for which the Rebels fought. . . . They demand that "the nation should return to methods of peace, and the supremacy of civil over military authority," which means that when the Ku Klux renew their plans to exterminate Republicans, white and black, they shall be dealt with by Southern civil authorities—that is, by judges and jurors who are themselves members of the Ku Klux associations.[30]

Gerrit Smith, a delegate to the regular Republican Convention, proclaimed in a public letter that "the Anti-Slavery battle is not yet fought out —and, until it is, we shall need Grant's continued leadership." When the Republicans met at Philadelphia in the first week of June to renominate

[29] Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement,* 86–105; *Golden Age,* May 11, 1872; Cincinnati *Commercial,* May 4, 1872; Boston *Commonwealth,* May 4, 25, 1872.

[30] Samuel May to William Lloyd Garrison, May 8, July 18, 1872, William Lloyd Garrison Papers, Boston Public Library; Garrison to Fanny Garrison Villard, July 11, 1872, Villard Papers; Lydia M. Child to Sarah B. Shaw, July ?, 1872, Lydia Maria Child Papers, Cornell University Library.

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Grant, Smith was introduced to the convention as "the oldest pioneer in the cause of emancipation." The delegates responded "with great enthusiasm," rising in their places, cheering, and calling for Smith to come to the platform. The chairman came down from the platform and personally escorted Smith to the podium while the delegates applauded and the band played "Hail to the Chief." Smith spoke briefly and retired amid "great cheering"; one newspaper reporter wrote that "few public men have ever received a more flattering demonstration."[31] Clearly the Republicans were eager to enlist the support of the abolitionists, and with their aid to win the Negro vote. Commenting on Smith's statement that "the Anti-Slavery battle is not yet fought out," the New York *Times* declared that "as the utterance of an unflinching Abolitionist of the old type, one whose integrity has caused him to be held in veneration by tens of thousands of people, [this letter] furnishes in a nutshell the political argument which today animates the Republican party."[32]

Some abolitionists, however, refused to follow the lead of Smith and Garrison and remained in the Liberal Republican party until the end. The foremost abolitionist Liberals were Tilton, Anna Dickinson, Oliver Johnson, Franklin B. Sanborn, and Elizur Wright. In addition to their dislike of Grant and his southern policy, many other considerations induced these five to join the Liberal movement. Tilton and Johnson were friends of Greeley, and Johnson was editor of the weekly and semiweekly New York *Tribune*. Dickinson was a close friend of Whitelaw Reid, who became editor in chief of the *Tribune* when Greeley was nominated. Sanborn and Wright were opposed to the growing power of Benjamin Butler, one of Grant's political lieutenants, in Massachusetts politics. These abolitionists insisted that by supporting Greeley they were not abandoning the cause of the Negro. On the contrary, they asserted that the cessation of sectional strife, carpetbag government, and federal intervention in southern politics would benefit the Negro more than anyone else. But in their arguments on this question one can discern a certain defensiveness, as if they were not entirely certain that their course *was* best for the Negro, and were trying to convince themselves as well as others.

Tilton turned his *Golden Age* into a militant campaign journal for Greeley. Week after week Tilton hammered away at the themes of carpet-

[31] Smith's statement was made in a letter to Andrew Dickson White, May 18, 1872 (copy in Smith Papers), and was widely quoted by the press. The reception of Smith at the Republican Convention was described in the New York *Times*, June 6, 1872, New York *Tribune*, June 6, 1872, and Detroit *Tribune*, June 10, 1872.

[32] New York *Times*, May 24, 1872.

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bag corruption, the need for sectional reconciliation, and the genuineness of the Democratic "New Departure." "Disgraceful to civilization is the existing type of those southern state governments which, in the name of liberty, tread justice and equity under foot," wrote Tilton. The "rottenness" of the "alien and carpet-bagging governments in the southern states" had "never been matched in our history save by the Tammany Ring. . . . Every vote for Grant is a vote to sustain these villains and their villainy. Every vote for Greeley is a blow for their destruction." Tilton wanted to put an end to warbred sectional hatreds: "The time has come to decide whether the North and the South shall hate each other and be enemies, or love each other and be friends." Tilton disagreed with the position of Garrison, Smith, and other abolitionists that the South and the Democrats could not be trusted. He pointed to the Liberal-Democratic platform, which pledged equality before the law for all men: "So noble, so advanced, so radiant a manifesto was never before made the text of a presidential campaign. If the anti-slavery battle is not yet fought out, this fights it out." Tilton believed that "the south means to abide in good faith by all the anti-slavery issues of the war . . . the whole south joyfully accepts the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments" and seeks "to be at peace not only with the negro but the north."[33]

In July Tilton went on the stump for Greeley and remained away from his editorial office for most of the campaign. In his absence, Tilton's assistant, William T. Clarke, wrote most of the *Golden Age*'s editorials. Under Clarke's direction, the paper's opposition to Grant was transmuted into hostility toward the Negro as the cause of southern corruption and violence. Tilton disapproved of this trend, but found himself unable—or unwilling—to curb Clarke's extreme statements; as editor of the paper, moreover, Tilton was ultimately responsible for its editorial statements.[34] Clarke maintained that the incidence of anti-Negro violence in the South was exaggerated by the Republican press for partisan purposes. In fact, said Clarke, "we must bear in mind that the white people of the south often suffer terrible provocations from the negroes, of which we know next to nothing. The latter are generally ignorant, often indolent, and sometimes lawless, insulting, and violent. They are intoxicated with their new-found freedom, and mistake liberty for license." Grant's southern policy intensified racial clashes; the

[33] *Golden Age,* May 18, June 1, 8, 15, 29, Aug. 17, 1872.

[34] *Ibid.,* Oct. 12, 1872; Oliver Johnson to Garrison, Apr. 27, 1872, Garrison to Johnson, May 5, 1872, Garrison Papers. Clarke had not been an abolitionist, but he had sympathized with the antislavery cause, and he numbered several abolitionists among his friends. (Clarke to Garrison, Mar. 20, 1868, Garrison Papers; Johnson to Reid, Oct. 28, Nov. 1, 1871, Whitelaw Reid Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.)

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Liberal program of "universal amnesty, forgiveness, and reconciliation" would bring peace to the South.[35]

Anna Dickinson's support for Greeley had overtones of disillusionment with the cause of Negro rights. During the Civil War Dickinson, a member of a Quaker abolitionist family in Philadelphia, had blossomed into a sensational public speaker and was widely regarded by her countrymen as an American Joan of Arc.[36] She had been a prominent advocate of Radical Reconstruction, but in 1871 she turned against Grant and evidently became disenchanted with many aspects of the Reconstruction experiment. In the spring of 1872 she came out against Grant's renomination, and Liberal leaders hoped to enlist her magic voice in the campaign to elect Greeley. Dickinson's family tried to dissuade her from going on the hustings, but she finally agreed to make one well-publicized speech for Greeley in New York a week before the election.[37] In her speech Dickinson made clear her dislike of Grantism in the South: "The administrations in those States began in usurpation, and ended in rapine. (Cheers.)" As for the Negroes, they had been put on a plane of legal equality with white men. "That being the case there is no need and there should be no excuse for special legislation for any special class of people." If the freedmen, who possessed the ballot, "cannot defend themselves and exercise their right at the polls, if . . . republican law and the forms of our old legislation . . . are to be destroyed to help them in fighting, we might as well confess that the experiment of republican Union is ended." Martial law and military occupation of the South would not solve the problem; the nation must place its trust in an improved southern public opinion fostered by amnesty and reconciliation. "The law is a dead letter until public opinion blows into it and inspires it with the spirit of life," concluded Dickinson. "Trust to these men, trust to public opinion, and you will see that it will work out the benefit of the Republic by working out their own self-interest."[38]

Franklin B. Sanborn had been a supporter of John Brown, but his one-time radicalism was later tempered by a successful career in journalism and public service. In 1872 Sanborn was political correspondent of the *Atlantic*

[35] *Golden Age*, Sept. 28, 1872; see also *ibid.*, July 20, 27, Aug. 31, Oct. 12, 1872.

[36] McPherson, *Struggle for Equality*, 128–32; see also Giraud Chester, *Embattled Maiden: The Life of Anna Dickinson* (New York, 1951).

[37] *Ibid.*, 120–43; Susan Dickinson to Anna Dickinson, Mar. 13, 1872, Anna Dickinson to Susan Dickinson, Apr. 3, 1872, Henry Wilson to Anna Dickinson, June 11, 1872, Tilton to Anna Dickinson, July 12, 1872, Anna Dickinson to her mother, July 7, 15, 1872, John Dickinson to Anna Dickinson, Mar. 7, Oct. 7, 1872, Samuel Bowles to Anna Dickinson, July 15, Sept. 10, 27, 1872, Reid to Anna Dickinson, July 30, Aug. 6, 22, Oct. 4, 1872, Anna Dickinson to Reid, Aug. 8, Oct. 3, 7, 24, 1872, Anna Dickinson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

[38] New York *Tribune*, Oct. 26, 1872.

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Monthly (until the *Atlantic*'s pro-Grant course caused him to resign[39]) and a columnist for the Springfield *Republican*, one of the leading Liberal journals. Sanborn confessed that he was "not quite convinced that the condition of the colored people would be safe under Greeley, elected by Democratic votes." But because of Grant's "ignorance of the first principles of statesmanship" Sanborn decided, somewhat reluctantly, to support Greeley.[40]

Another Massachusetts abolitionist, Elizur Wright, also thought it something of a Hobson's choice between Grant and Greeley, but finally resolved to support the latter.

> I spent a fortnight in the South last fall [Wright explained] and became fully convinced that an administration which could not prevent its friends from robbing those poor states as states were never robbed before, cannot long maintain itself there by any fair means. It may suppress the *Ku Klux*, but what is the use of keeping people's throats from being cut if they are to be perpetually robbed?[41]

Oliver Johnson had been one of Garrison's earliest and most loyal followers, but in 1872 Johnson broke with his mentor and joined the Liberal Republican party. His dependence for a livelihood upon his job as editor of the weekly and semiweekly New York *Tribune* may have influenced Johnson's decision, but he insisted publicly and privately that his Liberalism rested on a conviction that the freedmen's rights could best be protected if they were endorsed by the Democratic party. The only way to secure such an endorsement was to elect Greeley. Johnson professed that his old dislike of the Democratic party was gone,

> now that, with firm, and even majestic tread, it has planted itself upon a solid, Republican platform. . . . Henceforth, in this country, the rights of men, irrespective of race or color, are to be admitted and defended by all parties, and opportunity is to be afforded for the discussion and settlement of other questions that have waited long for a solution.[42]

Liberal leaders were glad of this support from several of the old abolitionists, for it helped them to disavow the anti-Negro label that other abolitionists and the regular Republicans tried to pin on them. But the biggest prize of all, an endorsement of Greeley by Sumner, eluded the grasp of the Liberals for several months. Sumner's bitter quarrel with the administration over the question of annexing Santo Domingo had made it impossible

[39] William Dean Howells to Sanborn, Aug. 25, 1872, Franklin B. Sanborn Papers, Concord (Mass.) Public Library.

[40] Springfield *Republican*, July 31, 1872; *Atlantic Monthly*, XXX (Aug. 1872), 254; see also Springfield *Republican*, July 4, 15, 22, Aug. 9, Sept. 9, 18, 1872.

[41] Wright to Sumner, July 13, 1872, Sumner Papers; see also Wright to Smith, July ?, 1872, Smith Papers, and an article by Wright in the Boston *Commonwealth*, June 15, 1872.

[42] Johnson to Smith, July 17, 1872, Smith Papers; article by Johnson in the *Golden Age*, Aug. 24, 1872. Johnson's article was reprinted as a Liberal campaign pamphlet.

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for him to support Grant's re-election. Most of Sumner's abolitionist friends urged him to remain neutral in the campaign.[43] Sumner was closer to the abolitionists both in terms of personal friendship and ideology than any other man in political life, and he took their advice seriously. In reply to a letter urging him to come out in favor of Greeley, Sumner noted that many abolitionists were opposed to the Liberals. "So are the colored people. My anxiety is there, & my purpose is to take the course which will be best for them."[44]

But Sumner was under great pressure from New England Liberals, and this, combined with his personal antipathy to Grant, finally caused him to declare publicly for Greeley.[45] On July 11 a group of Washington Negroes addressed a letter to Sumner requesting his opinion on the candidates. The tortured reasoning of Sumner's public reply of July 29 revealed the tormented state of his soul. Sumner argued that Grant's southern policy was not strong enough because he had failed to suppress violence and bring peace to the South, but at the same time the President's policy was too strong because he had antagonized southern whites. Sumner asserted his faith in the sincerity of the Democratic "New Departure" and in the good will of southern whites whom he had once denounced as incorrigible rebels, and stated that Greeley, as an earlier convert to the antislavery cause than Grant, was a better friend of the colored man.[46]

Sumner's letter was hailed by the Liberal press as a bombshell that would finally explode Republican pretensions of superior concern for the Negro. But the pro-Grant abolitionists wheeled out their heaviest artillery and fired deadly salvos, partly in sorrow and partly in anger, at Sumner's statement. In a widely publicized letter, Garrison reiterated his earlier arguments in favor of Grant and ridiculed Sumner's claim that Greeley had been a dedicated antislavery man: "He was not even a Free-Soiler, but always a Henry Clay Whig." Garrison believed that "the Greeley movement is characterized by the grossest dissimulation." While pretending to act in the best interests of the freedmen, the Liberals were in fact pitching their appeal to the worst enemies of the Negro. Moreover, concluded Garrison,

[43] J. B. Smith to Sumner, May 20, 1872, Gerrit Smith to Sumner, May 25, July 5, 21, 25, 1872, Garrison to Sumner, May 27, June 1, 1872, Charles W. Slack to Sumner, May 15, 1872, William S. Robinson to Sumner, June 24, 1872, Douglass to Sumner, July 5, 19, 1872, Mrs. Child to Sumner, July 9, 24, 1872, Phillips to Sumner, July 19, 1872, Sumner Papers.

[44] Sumner to Francis W. Bird, July 9, 1872, Francis W. Bird Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[45] Bird to Sumner, Apr. 11, 15, 23, 24, 30, May 7, July 9, 1872, Sumner Papers; Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner* (4 vols., Boston, 1877–94), IV, 515–36.

[46] *The Works of Charles Sumner* (20 vols., Boston, 1900), XX, 173–95.

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"the Democratic party have *not* become converts to the principles of the Republican party—they are simply in masquerade!"[47]

Garrison's letter was published in the Boston *Journal* and reprinted by nearly every major Republican paper in the country. The *Journal* commented editorially that "probably no other man . . . is so well qualified to reply to Mr. Sumner. . . . An older anti-slavery man, more closely identified with the cause of emancipation . . . [Garrison] can speak, even to our Senator, as one having authority—an authority which will certainly be conceded by the colored people of the country." The *Nation* expected Garrison's statement to "produce a deep impression on the colored voters." The New York *Times* called Garrison's letter "unanswerable" and stated that "it is a significant fact that all the original Anti-Slavery men of the country . . . are now zealous supporters of Gen. Grant. . . . Men like Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Gerrit Smith were old soldiers in freedom's ranks long before Mr. Sumner entered the campaign."[48]

Many other abolitionists publicly and privately condemned Sumner's course.[49] Phillips told the senator that he had read his statement with "painful astonishment." "What could lead you," Phillips asked his old friend, "to form such an estimate of the Northern Copperhead & the Southern Secessionist, & to be willing they should come into power?" Phillips believed that Grant's re-election "will continue an Administration under which . . . the negro has steadily gained in the safe exercise of his rights. Greeley is less than nothing in the hands of the traitors he has joined." Phillips asked Sumner to remember that "whatever [public] criticism I make on your position will be made with the sharpest regret & wrung from me by the gravest conviction of duty to the negro race which your mistake exposes to such horrible peril."[50]

Phillips was soon called upon to make a public comment on Sumner's position. On August 7 a committee of Boston Negroes, perplexed by the conflicting counsel given by such stalwart champions of their race as Sumner and Garrison, requested Phillips' advice on the political situation. Phillips

[47] Boston *Journal,* Aug. 5, 1872.

[48] *Ibid.; Nation,* XV (Aug. 8, 1872), 82; New York *Times,* Aug. 7, 1872. The Republican party in Massachusetts honored Garrison by selecting him as a presidential elector. Garrison declined the offer, but was gratified by this sign of the "altered state of public sentiment in this Commonwealth towards me, as compared with the unpopular days of abolitionism." (Garrison to George R. Russell, Aug. 20, 1872, McKim-Maloney-Garrison Papers.)

[49] Boston *Commonwealth,* Aug. 3, 10, 1872. There are several letters from abolitionists commending Garrison's criticism of Sumner in the Garrison Papers. In a letter to Bird (Sept. 13, 1872) Sumner expressed surprise and pain that so many of his abolitionist friends had condemned his statement. (Bird Papers.)

[50] Phillips to Sumner, Aug. 4, 1872, Sumner Papers.

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published a reply that avoided (as Garrison's statement had not) personal censure of Sumner, but that made perfectly clear Phillips' belief that Greeley's election would mean "the negro surrendered to the hate of the Southern States, with no interference from the nation in his behalf; it means the constitutional amendments neutralized by a copperhead Congress." Phillips told the Negroes of the South: "Vote, every one of you, for Grant, if you value property, life, wife, or child. If Greeley is elected, arm, concentrate, conceal your property, but organize for defence. You will need it soon."[51]

Most Negroes agreed with Phillips and Garrison rather than with Sumner. A colored "Harmony" Club in New York expressed approval of Garrison's "ably-written reply to Mr. Sumner's atrocious aspersions against General Grant, who has already done so much for the welfare of . . . the colored people." In a broadside entitled *U.S. Grant and the Colored People,* Douglass praised Grant for "his enforcement of the law for the preservation of life and property in the South, whereby the savage outrages of organizations, known as Ku Klux Klans . . . have been so generally suppressed." Delegates to a convention of New England Negroes held in Boston enthusiastically endorsed Grant. Of the fifteen colored candidates for state-wide office in the South, fourteen were Republicans, and the mass of Negro voters probably cast their ballots in much the same proportions.[52]

Amnesty for erstwhile Confederates emerged as one of the major campaign issues. In an effort to deprive the Liberals of this issue, the Republican Congress in May 1872 had passed an amnesty act restoring full political privileges to all but a few hundred former rebels. But in the Liberal lexicon "amnesty" meant more than mere removal of political disabilities; it meant total forgiveness of the Union's former enemies, plus a willingness to entrust to their stewardship all the results of northern victory, including the enfranchisement and equal rights of the freedmen.

In this sense, most abolitionists opposed "amnesty," for they believed that a withdrawal of the federal presence in the South would result in the rapid reduction of the freedmen to second-class citizenship. Garrison declared that Greeley "deludes himself, or tries to delude others, by assuming that a complete revolution has taken place in the feelings and sentiments

[51] Phillips' letter was printed in the Boston *Advertiser,* Aug. 16, 1872, and in scores of other newspapers.

[52] Public letter of "Harmony" Club to Garrison, Aug. 6, 1872, clipping in Garrison Papers; Boston *Journal,* Sept. 6, 1872; Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement,* 165; see also Douglass, "An Appeal to Colored Voters," in New York *Times,* Aug. 12, 1872. During the campaign a "National Liberal Republican Committee of Colored Citizens" was formed in New York, but it was a small and weak organization. (W. U. Saunders to Sumner, Oct. 19, 1872, Sumner Papers.)

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of the old oligarchical whites at the South in respect to their former vassals." Phillips thought that "Liberal Republicanism is nothing but Ku-Kluxism disguised."[53] Smith asserted that "the Democratic Party is the Democratic Party still. It remains as unreconciled as ever to the negro. Should it again come into power, the oppression of the negro will be revived, and the work of the war be undone." And William S. Robinson, who had supported the Liberal movement before Greeley's nomination, now repudiated his earlier position and wrote that

> what the South and the Democratic party mean by "reconciliation" is the overthrow of what they call negro supremacy and carpet-bag supremacy, and consequently the restoration of power to the old "governing class." What they mean is condemnation of the entire congressional, Republican and administration policy from the close of the war.[54]

During and after the war, several thousand northern whites, many of them abolitionists, had gone to the South as teachers and missionaries to the freedmen. Some of these abolitionists were still living in the South in 1872, and they agreed with their northern counterparts that a Liberal victory would spell disaster for the Negro. Sallie Holley (daughter of Myron Holley, a founder of the Liberty party) wrote from her freedmen's school in Lottsburgh, Virginia, that "if by a frown from Providence, Greeley is elected, we shall have awful doings here. . . . The triumph of Greeleyism . . . means gagging us all and driving us out of Virginia." Holley reported that "I hold regular monthly meetings in our schoolhouse, and don't mean a single man shall vote for Horace Greeley."[55]

Charles Stearns, an old-line abolitionist from Massachusetts who bought a plantation in Georgia after the war, had personally witnessed and suffered from the depredations of the Klan. Stearns was disgusted by the Liberal charge of "centralization" and "tyranny" against Grant's efforts to uphold the law in the South with federal troops. "No true man can cry out against 'centralization,' when without it, there never *can* be, any safety for 'the black man of the South,'" asserted Stearns. "What the friends of the blacks are laboring for, is the establishment of law for their protection. . . . When it cannot be done by our civil law, we ask for the establishment of military authority." Stearns laughed bitterly at the Liberals' proposal to entrust

[53] *Independent*, Oct. 3, 1872; Boston *Commonwealth*, Sept. 21, 1872.

[54] *Gerrit Smith to Horace Greeley*, Sept. 12, 1872, published letter (Peterboro, N. Y., 1872); Springfield *Republican*, Sept. 9, 1872.

[55] Holley to Mrs. Samuel Porter, July 20, 1872, in John White Chadwick, *Sallie Holley, A Life for Liberty* (New York, 1899), 220–21; Holley to Smith, Oct. 24, 1872, Smith Papers. After the election, Holley reported: "Our 96 colored voters in Lottsburgh all voted for Grant and Wilson. What a splendid victory all thro' Virginia!" (Holley to Smith, Nov. 8, 1872, *ibid.*)

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local authorities with the responsibility for enforcing the law. "No sheriff, or constable of our county would aid in arresting a Ku Klux. But if a few soldiers are stationed in this county, their known presence would prevent . . . outrages." Stearns concluded that nothing short of unremitting federal enforcement of the law, by troops if necessary, could render existence tolerable for the southern Negro.[56]

As the election approached, Phillips issued an appeal to his former allies in the antislavery cause: "I think the times claim of every loyal man, and specially of every abolitionist, their utmost effort to avert the dread calamity that Mr. Greeley's election would be."[57] Most abolitionists agreed with Phillips, including several who had flirted with the Liberal movement before the nomination of Greeley. Garrison claimed that "the great body of early and long-tried abolitionists" were supporting Grant.[58] A careful analysis of the private correspondence and public statements of those abolitionists still alive in 1872 confirms Garrison's assertion. Of the sixty-five prominent abolitionists whose opinions have been discovered, fifty (77 per cent) favored Grant, and only fifteen (23 per cent) supported Greeley.[59] The Republicans welcomed this valuable support for their candidate. Republican newspapers gave generous publicity to abolitionist speeches and letters, frequently under some such headline as "The Utterance of an Unflinching Abolitionist of the Old Type." The Republican National Committee distributed thousands of copies of a pamphlet entitled *Grant or Greeley—Which? Facts and Arguments for the Consideration of the Colored Citizens of the United States,* containing excerpts from articles and speeches by Garrison, Phillips, Douglass, and John Mercer Langston. Several abolitionists, most notably Smith and Douglass, took to the stump and gave scores of speeches for Grant during the campaign. Smith and Douglass were rewarded for their efforts by selection as Republican presidential electors in New York.

The election of 1872 confronted abolitionists with a dilemma that the

[56] Charles Stearns, *The Black Man of the South, and the Rebels* (New York, 1872), 405–406, 410–11, 437–38.

[57] *National Standard,* Sept. 1872.

[58] Boston *Journal,* Sept. 6, 1872.

[59] For some, however, the election boiled down to a choice between evils. James Freeman Clarke lamented that "nobody seems to like Grant, & nobody likes Greeley. It is rather hard that we cannot have a man of character to vote for." Nevertheless Clarke thought that "Grant will be re-elected because of the fear prevailing still that the rebels & democrats are not hopefully converted—& if so, he *ought* to be re-elected. So much for politics." (Clarke to Sarah F. Clarke, Aug. 21, 1872, James Freeman Clarke Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University; see also Lucretia Mott to Martha Wright, Sept. 26, 1872, Lucretia Mott Papers, Smith College Library; James Redpath to Sumner, July 12, 1872, Sumner Papers; John G. Whittier to Mary Abigail Dodge, Aug. 17, 1872, John G. Whittier Papers, Essex Institute; Wendell P. Garrison to Fanny Garrison Villard, May 19, 1872, Francis J. Garrison to Fanny G. Villard, Oct. 30, 1872, Villard Papers.)

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subsequent experience of the United States in dealing with the racial problem has not yet resolved. When the abolitionists began their crusade in the 1830's, they hoped to convert the slaveholders to emancipation by Christian appeals and moral suasion. This failed, and some abolitionists turned to disunion, others urged emancipation by government fiat, and still others tried insurrection. These methods also failed, and slavery finally came to an end amid the tragedy and violence of civil war. After the war, virtually all abolitionists supported the government's efforts to enforce civil and political equality for the freedmen by constitutional amendment and statute law. By 1872 the continued turmoil and violence in the South had convinced many Americans, including a minority of the abolitionists, that Reconstruction by the federal government was a failure. These abolitionists had come full circle; they now urged an abandonment of coercion and a return to moral suasion. They advocated conciliation; they maintained that no law on earth, even backed by military might, could provide security for the freedmen unless the hearts and consciences of southern whites first underwent a genuine conversion. A majority of the abolitionists, remembering the earlier failure of moral suasion, rejected this argument and held to their belief that only through a relentless and uncompromising enforcement of the law could the conditions for true equality be created. Grant was re-elected, but the conflict between moral suasion and legal coercion was not resolved in 1872; it is not yet resolved today.

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Japanese-German Peace Negotiations during World War I

FRANK W. IKLÉ*

THE relations between Japan and Germany during World War I form a most interesting, and hitherto almost unexplored, chapter in the history of the foreign relations of these two countries.

With the bloody stalemate in Flanders in 1914, and the German successes in the Battles of Ypres, Artois, and Champagne in 1915, Japan began to show unmistakable signs of wavering in its allegiance to the Allied Powers. The officially inspired Japanese press began, in the spring of 1915, to assume an aggressive tone against the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It was described as being one-sided and unfair, and the apparent invincibility of Germany was played up. Conceivably a German-Japanese alliance might be far more desirable than the maintenance of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. A number of pro-German military leaders as well as some Japanese intellectuals began to express their preferences for such a turnabout.[1] The notion of a division of the whole of Manchuria and Mongolia between Japan and Russia, and of further Japanese claims against China, if peace could be made with the Central Powers, was a powerful attraction.

Such thinking coincided with a number of energetic German peace feelers to Japan. The first of these came in January 1915, through Paul von Hintze, the German ambassador in Peking. Hintze was an astute, resolute, and cultivated naval officer, an intimate of both the Kaiser and Erich Ludendorff, and his intelligence and amiability in the past had made him a success, first at the court of Nicholas II, and later as the minister to Mexico. There, in 1914, his directions had been to embroil that country with the United States in order to reduce the flow of supplies to the Allies. Simultaneously, Hintze began to think about the possibility of persuading Japan to leave the Allied side, reasoning that Japan would make an excellent ally for Germany, and would deter both Russia and the United States by such an action.[2]

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[1] Kikujiro Ishii, *Diplomatic Commentaries* (Baltimore, 1936), 97.

[2] For Hintze's earlier career, see Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York, 1958), 60 ff.

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His ideas were well received in Berlin, and late in 1914 he was appointed German ambassador to China, with instructions to approach Japan regarding a possible separate peace. Hintze, now promoted to rear admiral, reached his new post in early January 1915.

When Hintze took up his new position he felt sanguine about the possibility of detaching Japan from the Allies. For the sake of further gains on the Asiatic mainland Japan might be persuaded to make peace with Germany. He unofficially told an *Asahi* correspondent in Peking that Germany was definitely the victor in the war, but that it favored Japan and would grant that country full freedom of action in East Asia.[3] In official discussions with the Japanese ambassador to China Hintze stated that he was merely voicing the personal views of the Kaiser in suggesting a peace treaty to Japan. Germany would let Japan keep not only Tsingtao but also the Pacific islands, and would be willing to give Japan a much freer hand in China than would the Allies. Germany might even go so far as to finance Japan's continued expansion in China. Implied, though not expressly stated, was the idea that Japan could do as it pleased in the Far East, especially in Manchuria and Mongolia, and that Germany certainly would not restrain any such actions for the sake of Russia.[4]

Hintze's approaches were, however, only one part of a broader picture of German peace overtures toward Japan in 1915. Fearing the dispatch of Japanese troops to the European theater of war, the German Foreign Office also communicated with the Japanese envoy in Stockholm. In a very interesting memorandum of January 14, by Gottlieb von Jagow to Arthur Zimmermann, drawn up in response to the somewhat ambiguous statement released by Ryohei Uchida, the Japanese ambassador to Sweden, nine days earlier to a Swedish news agency that "Japan considered the war against Germany ended," Jagow outlined Germany's position vis-à-vis Japan. Japan had gained from the war what it wanted to gain: Kiaochow Bay and the German islands in the Pacific; hence it no longer had any real interest in the conflict. Neither England nor Russia wanted a strong Japan in the Far East; thus Japan's interests might well be served by a new understanding with Germany based primarily upon Japan's poor financial situation. If Germany were to indicate that after a successful war it would consider loans to help develop Japan's military and economic position, it might be possible to

[3] Peking to German Foreign Office, telegram, Jan. 12, 1915, in *Deutschland 132: Beziehungen Deutschlands zu Japan 1886–1920* [hereafter cited as *Deutschland 132*], Vols. X, XI, microcopy T 120, roll 3783, as listed in *A Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, 1867–1920* (Washington, D. C., 1959).

[4] Otto Becker, *Der Gedanke einer deutsch-russisch-japanischen Verständigung während des Weltkrieges* (Neumünster, 1940), 5.

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arrive at such an understanding. It might even be possible to maintain some German political control, or at least economic control, over the Kiaochow leasehold in the form of a condominium with Japan, or, failing that, Germany was ready to forego Tsingtao in return for some compensation, for which German capital would be made available for Japan's activities in China. Japan, in short, would be given carte blanche in the Far East by Germany, if a separate peace could be arranged.[5]

Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, was clearly interested in such a possibility, and the German ambassador in Stockholm, Hellmuth von Lucius, was instructed to get cautiously in touch with Uchida.[6] To preserve secrecy Lucius was instructed to communicate with Uchida by means of the envoys of the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman sultanate to Sweden, Andreas Hadik and Chekib Bey, respectively. Between January 19 and early March a number of confidential talks took place between Uchida and the envoys of the Central Powers, meetings that were apparently aided by the fact that Chekib Bey was a personal friend of the Japanese ambassador who resided in the same house with him.[7]

Lucius was greatly encouraged by Uchida's response. On January 19 he telegraphed the German Foreign Office that the Japanese ambassador was interested in a German proposal in regard to future economic and financial cooperation between Japan and Germany in China, and that Uchida had expressly stated that Japan would not send troops to Europe.[8] Seven days later he reported to the German Chancellor a conversation between Uchida and the Austrian envoy, during which Hadik was told that Japan had been forced to take Kiaochow as the result of its obligation under the Anglo-Japanese alliance, but that this obligation had now been fulfilled. Japan would certainly not send troops to France. When Hadik suggested that Japan's real enemies were only Russia and Great Britain, Uchida fully agreed.[9] Again, on March 2, Uchida had a long talk with Hadik in which he indicated Japan's general admiration for Germany and his hope for the restoration of a good understanding between these two nations. Japan's policies in China were being hampered by the English, Uchida continued, but it would pursue its policies in the Far East regardless of such hindrance.[10]

As far as Germany was concerned a second consideration, in addition to fear of Japanese participation in the war in Europe, now became sufficiently

[5] German Foreign Office memo, Jan. 14, 1915, *Deutschland 132*.
[6] Berlin to Lucius, telegram, Jan. 21, 1915, *ibid*
[7] Lucius to Bethmann Hollweg, telegram, Jan. 26, 1915, *ibid*.
[8] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Jan. 19, 1915, *ibid*.
[9] Stockholm to Berlin, telegram, Jan. 26, 1915, *ibid*.
[10] Stockholm to Berlin, telegram, Mar. 2, 1915, *ibid*.

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acute so as to urge understanding with Japan. This was the constantly growing flow of weapons and munitions from Japanese factories to Russia, which kept that country's desperate military efforts going. William II, himself, stressed this point which had been brought to his attention by his military attaché in Washington.[11] For this reason, beginning in June 1915, the German government facilitated Swedish iron exports to Japan, upon Japan's pledge not to re-export.[12] Alfred von Tirpitz of the navy also agreed that a separate peace treaty with Japan was most desirable since it would end Japanese arms supplies to Russia and would force Britain to shift naval units to the Pacific and Indian Oceans.[13]

Germany had a number of sympathetic listeners among the Japanese military who felt that, after all, Germany might be the winner in the great struggle. The government of Shigenobu Okuma made no attempt to silence these sentiments; if both Germany and the Allies suspected that Japan was wavering, it would be in an excellent position to raise its terms. The greater the doubts concerning its loyalty, the higher the price Japan might command.

Japan communicated the German proposals, both those made by Hintze and the discussions in Stockholm, to the Allies, thereby causing considerable consternation and suspicion not only in Europe, but also in America. The British ambassador in Washington, Cecil Spring-Rice, reported that Japan was on the verge of joining Germany, while the American ambassador in Berlin, James Gerard, deeply suspected a German-Japanese peace treaty in the making.[14]

While Germany was assiduously probing for a separate peace with Japan it also made, simultaneously, a number of approaches to Russia. In the summer months of 1915 the German government made use of a stranded Russian noblewoman in Austria to sound out Nicholas II about the possible conclusion of a peace treaty. Russia, the Germans argued, would benefit from such a peace by going ahead in Manchuria and Mongolia at the expense of Japan.[15] Such devious scheming, suggesting to Japan a free hand against Russia, and to Russia a free hand against Japan, turned out to be a serious mistake. The Russian government was fully informed about the German peace feelers to Japan, since the Russians had the code used between Tokyo and the Japanese ambassador in St. Petersburg, Ichiro Motono, and since the Japanese government itself, as previously mentioned, leaked all German

[11] Memo, June 12, 1915, *ibid.*
[12] Alfred von Tirpitz to Foreign Office, Aug. 12, 1915, *ibid.*
[13] Jagow to William II, memo, Dec. 14, 1915, *ibid.*
[14] US Department of State, *Archives,* File 894.20202.
[15] For a fuller discussion of this subject, see Becker, *Der Gedanke.*

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suggestions to its allies. The Russians also kept Japan closely informed about the German approaches to St. Petersburg. The possibility of a separate Russian-German peace and a possible Russian-German alliance nevertheless greatly worried the Okuma government, always sensitive to the specter of a renewed triple intervention. Kikujiro Ishii, Japan's ambassador in Paris, especially stressed such a possibility to Okuma, and suggested to him much closer ties with Russia in order to ward off a German-Russian agreement.

The clumsiness of German diplomacy in trying to play off Japan against Russia, and Russia against Japan, contributed to the failure of Germany to conclude a separate peace with either Russia or Japan in 1915. But it had shown the Japanese government a means of putting pressure on its allies.

In March 1916 peace talks were resumed between Germany and Japan in Stockholm. Available evidence from Japanese and German sources is somewhat conflicting as to who initiated this second series of negotiations, Germany or Japan, but there is no lack of clarity as to the brilliant success of Japanese diplomacy in utilizing to the utmost German peace feelers. By careful leaking of German terms, Japan won important concessions from the Allies and diplomatic success for itself.

Whether it was Uchida who was attracted by German hints of a possible separate peace with Japan, as claimed by his reports to Tokyo (a more likely event),[16] or whether it was Lucius who was repeatedly approached on the subject by Uchida, as reported by the German envoy to the Foreign Office in Berlin,[17] is not as significant as the fact that on March 25 they met on neutral ground, at a club dinner, to discuss the matter on a preliminary basis.[18] The dinner had been arranged by the Swedish manager of Hugo Stinnes, the influential Ruhr industrialist and friend of Bethmann Hollweg, who arrived in Stockholm five days later, on behest of the Wilhelmstrasse, in order to add his influence to these discussions. Germany was eager, while launching the Verdun venture in the west, to secure peace with Russia in the east. On March 30 Stinnes and Uchida had a long discussion, in the course of which a luncheon meeting was arranged to bring all three, Stinnes, Uchida, and Lucius, together on the next day.[19] On April 1 at an hourlong

[16] Uchida to Foreign Minister Ishii, telegram, Feb. 17, 1916, in *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms MT 5.2.16.2-1: Doitsu no Nichi-Ro ryōgoku ni taisuru kōwa nai-taigi ni kansuru ken* [Documents Relating to the Confidential German Peace Proposals Offered to Japan and Russia] [hereafter cited as *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms*], Feb.–June 1916, reel 553.

[17] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Mar. 16, 1916, *Deutschland 132*.

[18] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Mar. 25, 1916, *ibid.*

[19] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Mar. 31, 1916, *ibid.*

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lunch Lucius told Uchida that it was high time an armistice between Japan and Germany should be concluded, especially since Russia was also eager to make peace with Germany, but feared Japanese reaction. Uchida cautiously avoided comment on this subject, but told Lucius that he would report his ideas back to Tokyo. In any case, he added, Japan saw no need to hurry a separate peace treaty with Germany at this stage, and he did not believe that Russia would be permitted to conclude a separate agreement with Germany by its allies. At this point Stinnes entered into the discussion. After telling Uchida that it would be a great disappointment to him if this meeting proved totally futile, he suggested a meeting of German, Russian, and Japanese representatives in Stockholm, on an informal basis, to discuss conditions for an armistice between these three powers. Stinnes then pressed Uchida to indicate what terms the Japanese government might consider for an armistice with Germany, but again Uchida evaded that issue by pleading ignorance. The meeting ended with Stinnes' urging Uchida and the Japanese government to keep the substance of this talk a secret, and pledging himself to an immediate return to Berlin to confer further with German officials in order to be able to resume German-Japanese talks on a more substantial basis. Above all, the British were not to be told about these negotiations.[20]

These German attempts to sound out the Japanese government regarding a possible separate armistice were transmitted to the Japanese Foreign Minister, Ishii (the former pro-Allied Japanese ambassador to France), who, after consulting Okuma, decided to make full use of them to gain concessions from Japan's allies. Meanwhile, the talks between Japan and Germany were to be continued. On April 9 Ishii wired the Japanese ambassador in London, Katsunosuke Inouye, to pass the German proposals on to Sir Edward Grey: "in order to avoid repetition of our past misconstruction."[21] Motono, the Japanese ambassador to Russia, was told by Ishii to await further instructions before informing the Russian government of the substance of the German peace feelers.[22] What mattered first of all was to get the reaction of the British government.

While Tokyo was breaking its pledge of secrecy to Berlin and was informing the British Foreign Secretary, it had no intention of stopping the talks in Sweden. It was quite the opposite: before Tokyo received the British reaction to the German peace maneuver, Uchida was instructed to ask for a

[20] Uchida to Tokyo, telegram, Apr. 2, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms;* see also Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Apr. 1, 1916, *Deutschland 132.*

[21] Ishii, Tokyo, to Inouye, telegram, Apr. 9, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms.*

[22] Ishii, Tokyo, to Motono, telegram, Apr. 9, 1916, *ibid.*

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new meeting with Lucius, which took place on April 24.[23] At that time, Uchida told Lucius that Japan was interested only in a rapid end of the conflict and Germany's promise that Tsingtao would go to Japan at war's end. If Germany would make such a declaration, Japan then "would take up the question of peace." Even if a separate peace between Germany and Japan would not be feasible, Japan would use its influence on Russia to cause that nation to conclude an armistice with Germany. If Germany would cede Tsingtao to Japan, Japan would be a solid friend to Germany.[24] To this Lucius replied that the loss of Tsingtao would be a real sacrifice for Germany, but, conceivably, it could be considered if sufficient compensation would be forthcoming from Japan, and if the Japanese government would really put pressure on Russia to make peace. Lucius ended with the admonition that if Japan was not willing to consider these terms perhaps Germany would find a different mediator (presumably the United States); hence it was to the greatest benefit of Japan to act quickly in the matter.[25] Both envoys then reported back to their respective Foreign Offices.

The German reaction to the Japanese suggestion was immediate and favorable. Berlin was quite ready to discuss the transfer of Tsingtao to Japan, although some concrete offer from Japan in return was most desirable. Above all, if Japan would exercise pressure upon Russia to make peace with Germany, Germany would be willing to relinquish all its rights in the Far East. This was the gist of the message from the Foreign Office to Lucius, who was also told to continue the conversations with Uchida.[26]

In the meantime, while Japan was dangling the bait of a separate peace in front of German eyes, and while Berlin was ready to promise delivery of Kiaochow Bay to Japan, the Japanese leaking of the German terms to Britain began to produce results. On May 3, Sir Conyngham Greene, the British ambassador to Tokyo, requested a meeting with Ishii. At that time he handed him a telegram from Lord Grey in which the latter expressed appreciation of being kept informed about Germany's proposals for a separate armistice—which seemed a good indication of that country's war-weary state—and in which he requested that this information be relayed to all Allied governments (with the exception of Italy, since that country was not

[23] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Apr. 22, 1916, *Deutschland 132*.

[24] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, Apr. 24, 1916, *ibid.*; Uchida to Tokyo, telegram, Apr. 29, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms*.

[25] *Ibid.* See also a very enlightening document from the files of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated May 19, 1916, published in *Izvestia*, December 30, 1917, as part of the Bolsheviks' project to publish documents of secret diplomacy. It substantiates both Uchida and Lucius and contains a good, though abbreviated, account of Japanese-German peace negotiations in Sweden from March to May 1916.

[26] Berlin to Lucius, telegram, Apr. 26, 1916, *Deutschland 132*.

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yet a belligerent against Germany), especially to Paris and St. Petersburg, so as to obtain a concerted opinion from all the major Allies.[27]

Ishii complied with Grey's request, on the same day sending cables to Motono in St. Petersburg and to Keishiro Matsui in Paris, instructing them to transmit the German terms to the Russian and French governments, respectively, and to ask for their opinions. Uchida in Stockholm was kept informed by Tokyo about this step, but was advised to keep himself in readiness for further talks with the Germans, pending instructions from the Japanese government.[28]

Japan was now in an excellent position. While carrying on not so secret talks with Germany, it could and did use the German offers to pressure the Allies, demanding at least the same concessions from the British, French, and Russian governments that Germany was willing to grant. On May 4, Inouye called on Grey, informing him about Japan's quick notification to the French and Russian governments, and attempting to sound out Grey about the British government's position. Grey replied that, indeed, there seemed a strong desire on the part of Germany to make peace. Germany's real intention, however, seemed to be to split both Russia and Japan away from their allies. Lucius' admonition that if the German-Japanese talks failed Germany would turn to another neutral to obtain mediation (the United States presumably) could be disregarded since American-German relations presently were too tense for any such effort. Hence, no haste was necessary. In any case, the British government could not make any comments in the matter until the viewpoints of both France and Russia had been obtained, as it was their soil that was actually trampled upon by German troops. Neither of these nations would, in Grey's opinion, listen to any such offers while Germans remained in their lands. After insisting on a general exchange of Allied opinion, Grey then suggested that perhaps Japan should indicate to Berlin that Japan, after all, was also bound by the London declaration (September 1914) to the Allies in which it pledged not to make a separate armistice with Germany. After this none too subtle reminder to Japan of its obligations, Grey concluded the discussion by telling Inouye that in his opinion Germany would not offer such terms as to bring about a situation that would satisfy all the Allied Powers. He, Grey, would instruct the British ambassadors in Paris and St. Petersburg to obtain the views of the French and Russian governments, in line with what Ishii had already done.[29]

[27] Ishii to Inouye, telegram, May 3, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms.*
[28] Tokyo to Motono, telegram, May 3, 1916, Tokyo to Uchida, telegram, May 3, 1916, *ibid.*
[29] London to Ishii, telegram, May 5, 1916, *ibid.*

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As a matter of fact, Motono had a talk with Sergei Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister, the very next day, May 6. Unlike the British Foreign Secretary, Sazonov, faced with a truly formidable internal situation brought about by many factors, of which the most important were the shortages of munitions and supplies, the rift between the government and the Duma, and court intrigues against him and his policies by the Tsarina and Boris Stürmer, was far less eager to reject a possible separate peace with Germany. He told Motono that Germany seemed to have an earnest desire for peace and that although a separate armistice now, "at this stage," was not feasible, nevertheless it would be foolish to reject these offers. It would, of course, be best if such German offers were to be made openly to all of the Allied Powers.[30]

That same day also saw an interview in Paris between Matsui and Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister. As might be expected, the French answer was a stiff rejection. Briand told the Japanese envoy that this was just another example of Germany's trickery designed to split the Allies by introducing feelings of uneasiness and distrust among them. In any case, Germany's failure at Verdun was undermining its morale.[31]

One week later, on May 12, Inouye was called to the British Foreign Office for a talk with Grey. At this meeting he was told that the Russian, French, and British governments had consulted among themselves and shared the opinion that if Germany really intended to seek peace it should do so by making joint proposals to all four major powers; England, Russia, France, and Japan.[32] What, if any, decisions at that time had been made concerning concessions to Japan in Paris, London, or St. Petersburg do not appear in available documents, but it was to be a matter of a mere six weeks before a new Russo-Japanese secret agreement (July 3) came into being. This, in a series of secret protocols negotiated by Sazonov and Motono, included a defensive alliance, the delimitation of the interests of both powers in Eastern Asia, specifically in southern Manchuria and eastern Mongolia, and the guarantee of a large flow of supplies of weapons and munitions from Japan to Russia. This was merely the first in a series of agreements, not only between Russia and Japan, but also between Japan and England and Japan and France, supporting the Japanese claims to the former German colony of Kiaochow Bay and to Japanese possession of the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator. Although the Anglo-Japanese and

[30] Motono to Tokyo, telegram, May 6, 1916, *ibid.*
[31] Matsui to Tokyo, telegram, May 6, 1916, *ibid.*
[32] Inouye to Tokyo, telegram, May 12, 1916, *ibid.*

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Franco-Japanese (unlike the Russo-Japanese) agreements were not concluded until early 1917, the implication seems reasonable, nevertheless, that the leaking of the German peace terms played a role in their creation.

In Sweden, in the meantime, the talks between Uchida and Lucius went on quite as if the German offers had not been leaked to the Allied Powers. On May 5 the Japanese ambassador told Lucius that Germany's offer to transfer Kiaochow Bay and the German Pacific islands to Japan would not be enough. He added that, although he had heard nothing as yet from his government, he rather doubted whether Japan could put pressure on the Russian government to make peace with Germany. Clearly, the stakes were going up. Lucius replied that if, in fact, Japan was ready to influence Russia toward peace he thought that Germany stood willing to surrender its possessions in the Far East, including the Pacific islands, although he would first have to consult his government before making a definite promise.[33]

In fact, on May 7 William II, himself, was ready to cede both Kiaochow and the islands, if only "Japan would go into action with Russia."[34] Instructions to that effect were cabled to Lucius, emphasizing that if Japan could get an immediate peace between Germany and Russia, Germany was willing to concede Tsingtao and the Pacific islands, on the basis that private German business would be compensated, and, an addition thought out by Jagow, that the Open Door for Germany in China would be respected.[35]

While the outlines of the German offer to Japan were being determined in Berlin, two conversations took place between Stinnes and Uchida in Stockholm, the first on May 7, the second, with Lucius present, on May 8. Things had become more complicated because of Stinnes' own ideas as to what should be done, ideas that conflicted with the views of the German government. During the course of the first talk on May 7, the Mühlheim tycoon advanced again his view that in the postwar world there should be established a Japanese-Russian-German axis which would become the ruling force, and that Germany should abandon the thought of future cooperation with the Western Allies. An American-Japanese war was definitely in the offing, and England and France both would support the United States; hence the present German proposal should eventually help Japan. The same view was repeated in the presence of Lucius on May 8; again Stinnes argued that what was necessary was the forging of a broader Russian-German-Japanese alliance. If this came into being, Germany would

[33] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, May 5, 1916, *Deutschland 132*.
[34] Memo by Bethmann Hollweg, May 7, 1916, *ibid.*
[35] Berlin to Lucius, telegram, May 7, 1916, *ibid.*

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not hesitate to transfer its possessions in the Far East to Japan.[36] Uchida remained noncommittal; he would wire his government regarding such an alliance. Japan was interested only in an early peace.[37]

Stinnes and his views of a general alliance between Russia, Germany, and Japan annoyed and disturbed the German Foreign Office. Jagow told Lucius that Germany was not at all interested in an alliance with Russia; what Germany wanted was a rapid armistice, no more. Stinnes was a fellow who needed to be watched, "a man of violence who wants German policies to serve his ends." A German treaty with Russia in opposition to the West had nothing to offer since a postwar Russian revolution seemed unavoidable.[38]

Having been annoyed with Stinnes, Jagow proceeded to reflect in general, and in equally bad temper, about what Japan really wanted. In the same letter he raised the rhetorical question about why Japan was interested in peace with Germany. If it was done to free Japan against the United States, there was nothing in this for Germany at all. What about Japanese-Russian negotiations? How far did they extend? Was Russia willing, in return for more Japanese supplies of arms and munitions, to let Japan proceed with its interests in Mongolia, Manchuria, and the whole of Eastern Asia? (It was, of course, precisely such an agreement that was about to be worked out between Japan and Russia in St. Petersburg.) Jagow concluded these speculations on a gloomy note: it was most difficult to get anything out of "these lying and taciturn Japanese [*verlogenen und verschlossenen Japanern*]." In any case, he wanted to get Stinnes out of the negotiations—his only interests were to develop his heavy industry—and to get the Japanese to influence Russia before the onset of the new Russian offensive: "already too much blood has been shed."[39] In conformity with these instructions Lucius opposed Stinnes' proposition of a general alliance between Germany, Russia, and Japan, when this was brought up again at a meeting of the three on May 9. Uchida agreed quite eagerly; such an alliance would create difficulties regarding the Anglo-Japanese alliance.[40]

In effect the gloomy outlook of the Wilhelmstrasse was only too justified. Japan's true intentions had been all along to use the German offers vis-à-vis the Allies, while getting Germany's agreement to cede Tsingtao and the islands. It had been a very clever game, and Uchida had been most successful. In a remarkable telegram from a pleased Ishii to Uchida, dated May 12, he expressed his deepest satisfaction with his efforts, "which have greatly

[36] Uchida to Tokyo, telegram, May 9, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms.*
[37] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, May 8, 1916, *Deutschland 132.*
[38] Jagow to Lucius, May 8, 1916, *ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] Lucius to Berlin, May 9, 1916, *ibid.*

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contributed to the interests of the Imperial Government of Japan."[41] Japan's own trickery in leaking Germany's terms to the Allies now led Ishii to advocate caution to Uchida, lest the Germans be tempted to make use of the Japanese-German talks for their own purposes, and to create a misunderstanding among the Allies, a notable expression of how much one's own methods influenced one's outlook toward others' methods.

For a few more days the Germans, blissfully unaware that the Allies knew their terms, continued to believe in the earnestness of Japan, but it was not to last much longer. On May 17 German illusions were finally shattered. On that day Uchida requested a meeting with Lucius, and he declared that his government had authorized him to state that Japan could not enter into peace negotiations with Germany. If the German government desired peace, such proposals would have to be addressed jointly to Japan, Britain, France, and Russia. In such a case Japan would be quite ready to undertake transmission of such proposals.[42]

Lucius was infuriated, and so was Berlin.[43] Jagow instructed Lucius to tell the Japanese ambassador that Japan's request to inform the other Allied Powers was in flat contradiction to the original terms of the German peace proposals. Japan was to be shown a cold shoulder. In one of his famous marginal comments, the Kaiser himself gave vent to his wrath against Japan. There was no point in negotiating with the Japanese; one can get more by thrashing them! ("Da erreicht man durch Dreschen mehr!")[44]

German disillusionment, and anger, was compounded by the fact that by now it had also become obvious that the British government had known all along of the German peace offers. A *Times* editorial of May 11, entitled "Peace Intrigue and the Alliance," had made the disclosure. It accused Germany accurately enough of offering Japan the undisputed possessions of Germany in the Far East, and promises of advantage in China, but it pointed out, less accurately, that Japan had always adhered to the London convention and fulfilled its duty as an ally.[45] The Paris newspaper *Matin* published a similar article. The German press promptly denied that any German peace offers to Japan had ever been made.[46] On August 23 Lucius officially informed Uchida of the end of negotiations.[47]

In any case, by May 1916 all further German-Japanese peace negotiations

[41] Ishii to Uchida, telegram, May 12, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms.*
[42] Uchida to Ishii, telegram, May 17, 1916, *ibid.*
[43] Lucius to Berlin, telegram, May 17, 1916, Berlin to Lucius, May 18, 1916, *Deutschland 132.*
[44] Marginal comment by William II on telegram of Lucius, May 17, 1916, made May 19, 1916, *ibid.*
[45] London *Times,* May 11, 1916.
[46] Uchida to Tokyo, May 24, 1916, *Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Microfilms.*
[47] Uchida to Tokyo, May 23, 1916, *ibid.*

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came to an end. Japan had won a brilliant diplomatic action, and Germany, as well as the Allies, had been the losers.

Despite the fiasco of May the rest of the year still saw occasional flickers of interest by various German sources in regard to a possible understanding with Japan. For one thing, Hintze in Peking continued to advocate such negotiations. In June he wired Bethmann Hollweg that German concessions to Japan should be proportionate to Japan's actions: Germany would offer Japan a free hand in China and its economic cooperation, in return for Japanese termination of supplies to the Allies.[48] Interest in Japan also continued to be displayed in navy circles. A navy memo to the Chancellor expressed the belief that Japan would not oppose any understanding with Germany and Russia in the long run, since above all it was worried about a too powerful Britain.[49] Then there were also rumors, one, particularly, concerning a close friend of Okuma, Ichimura Mitsue, a law professor at Kyoto University, who supposedly broached the subject of German-Japanese cooperation to the German envoy in Batavia. Fear of an overwhelming British victory, he suggested, should lead to a tripartite understanding between Russia, Germany, and Japan, in which a division of spheres be spelled out so that Japan would obtain control of East and South Asia, Russia would get Persia and Baluchistan, and Germany the whole of the African continent (an interesting forerunner of Joachim von Ribbentrop's suggestion to V. M. Molotov in 1940).[50]

It certainly is a fact that Germany continued to maintain contacts with Japan, despite the diplomatic rebuff it had sustained. Informal talks between Stinnes and Uchida again took place in November 1916 in Stockholm, when the German industrialist visited Sweden for a brief stay.

The success of Japanese diplomacy in getting Germany to propose peace terms in 1916, to leak these terms to the Allies, and to strengthen its own position as the result of these deliberate indiscretions led the Japanese government to repeat this maneuver early in 1917, at a time when the position of the Central Powers had greatly deteriorated. The tactical approach used this time was to let Uchida in Sweden approach the Austrian envoy, Hadik, with the suggestion that Japan would willingly consider a separate peace treaty with Austria-Hungary.[51] On January 21, 1917, he had a talk along these lines, which was reported to Count Ottokar Czernin, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and in turn was transmitted from Vienna to

[48] Peking to Berlin, telegram, June 14, 1916, *Deutschland 132*.
[49] Memo, Navy to Bethmann Hollweg, Nov. 1916, n.d., *ibid.*
[50] Batavia to Berlin, telegram, Nov. 14, 1916, *ibid.*
[51] Austrian embassy, Sweden to Count Ottokar Czernin, telegram, Jan. 21, 1917, *ibid.*

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Berlin via Prince Hohenlohe, the Austrian ambassador to Germany.[52]

Czernin's reply to Hadik urged the greatest caution, posing the question why Japan wanted to make a separate peace and thus to break the London convention, and he suggested that it would be better to avoid any further talks with Uchida.[53] But the lure was attractive, and Hadik, in a plaintive note to his superior, wanted to have the talks continued, at least so as to find out what Japan really wanted.[54] Czernin replied that Japan was merely out to test Austria's loyalty to Germany, its intentions being far removed from making a separate peace with Austria. It was best to terminate any further discussions.[55]

But by February the German government, kept *au courant* by its Austrian ally, unmistakably was again interested in pursuing the elusive aim of peace with the Far Eastern member of the *Entente*. On February 17 Zimmermann told Lucius to resume discussions with Uchida, that Germany was always ready for an immediate understanding with Japan, but that any such offers would have to come from the Japanese government directly, so as to avoid the previous "indiscretions" of Japan. Germany, Uchida was to be told, was doing very well: the U-boat warfare was "enormously successful."[56] Ludendorff, the new leader of the German armies and the chief architect of Germany's last bid for victory, fully endorsed these talks. In a memo to Bethmann Hollweg he pointed out that from a military point of view an understanding with Japan would be of the greatest value because of the huge shipment of arms and munitions flowing from Japan to Russia. By all means, one should find out what Japan had in mind.[57]

This memo elicited a reply to Ludendorff by Bethmann Hollweg, dated March 3, 1917, in which he reviewed the whole history of German-Japanese negotiations, as seen from Berlin's point of view. He briefly mentioned Hintze's efforts in Peking in 1915, and then continued with a description of events in Stockholm in 1916. These discussions had come to nothing because of Japanese indiscretions, and one must "probably assume that Japan used these talks to get agreements with her Allies in regard to her own special wishes."[58]

Given these circumstances, it would be necessary for Germany to be somewhat reluctant in further talks with Uchida in Sweden, but Lucius would be told to continue negotiations and to report Japanese proposals. The

[52] Vienna to Prince Hohenlohe, telegram, Feb. 11, 1917, *ibid.*
[53] Count Czernin to Stockholm, telegram, Jan. 29, 1917, *ibid.*
[54] Hadik to Vienna, telegram, Jan. 31, 1917, *ibid.*
[55] Vienna to Stockholm, telegram, Feb. 1, 1917, *ibid.*
[56] Berlin to Lucius, telegram, Feb. 17, 1917, *ibid.*
[57] Memo, Ludendorff to Bethmann Hollweg, Feb. 26, 1917, *ibid.*
[58] Bethmann Hollweg to Ludendorff, Mar. 3, 1917, *ibid.*

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Austrian government would be thanked for its loyalty in letting Germany know Japan's approaches, and Hadik should get in touch with Lucius, so as to form a united front vis-à-vis Uchida.[59]

Continuing, Bethmann Hollweg declared that despite the experiences of 1916 and the existing presupposition that the Japanese government again wanted to use Germany to make its allies and probably also the United States more pliable toward Japan's wishes, Germany would give a willing ear to Japan's proposals because of the great value OHL (Supreme Command of the German Army) put upon negotiations with Japan, even without a simultaneous understanding with Russia. Although it was difficult to discern the intentions of the statesmen of Japan, it was still possible that these Japanese attempts were serious; thus Germany would be foolish to reject them.[60]

Hintze, too, was told to work on talks with Japan. He left Peking in April, upon declaration of war by China on Germany, and gave an interview to *Kokumin Shimbun* during a call in Yokohama. In it he expressed his hopes for an eventual Japanese-German agreement.

The Japanese government kept the fear alive that Japan might conceivably come to an understanding with Germany, especially by emphasizing the closeness of Japanese relations with Mexico. This, coupled with Zimmermann's efforts to bring Mexico into war against America, was designed to keep the United States in a state of uneasiness and apprehension. The Japanese embassy in Mexico City lavishly entertained government officials, and a Mexican arms buying mission, headed by a Major Carpio, was exceedingly well received in Japan. Carpio was shown the naval bases at Kure, Sasebo, and Yokosuka, and then was permitted to purchase a large quantity of arms for Mexico, despite a Japanese agreement with the Allies that arms would be furnished exclusively to them.[61] Japan in this fashion maintained pressure upon the United States regarding its future claims to Tsingtao and the Pacific islands.

It is hard to escape the conclusion that the latest Japanese peace talks in this series also served the purpose of bringing about the Anglo-Japanese agreement of February 16, 1917, and that they played in addition a role later that year in the Lansing-Ishii agreement. Throughout World War I Japan profited greatly from Germany's desire for peace, and its diplomacy had been both exceedingly clever and brilliantly successful.

[59] *Ibid.*
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] US Department of State, *Archives*, Files 712.94/7-25. For an account of Japanese activities in Mexico in 1917, see Tuchman, *Zimmermann Telegram*, 159 ff.

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* * * *Review Article* * * *

Who Intervened in 1788? A Commentary on *The Coming of the French Revolution*

ELIZABETH L. EISENSTEIN*

THIS paper is concerned with discrepancies in Georges Lefebvre's presentation of the point at which, "strictly speaking, the Revolution of 1789 began"[1] —more precisely with how the author locates revolutionary initiative at this point. Any such commentary on selected portions of a single secondary text requires some sort of justification.[2] For two reasons this particular exegesis seems worth while. First, the point at issue is a strategic one in all interpretations of the French Revolution. Second, the text is a widely circulated book by a most eminent historian. Generally regarded as "the best introduction to the study of the Revolution available anywhere,"[3] the text has, since R. R. Palmer's translation of 1947, become increasingly available almost everywhere. Devoid of forbidding scholarly apparatus, relatively slim and readable, this English version is accessible to the reading public at large. Widely used as a classroom manual, it has also left its mark on high-level research undertaken by political scientists, sociologists, and historians work-

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[1] Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution,* tr. R. R. Palmer [from *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf,* 1st ed., Paris, 1939] (Princeton, N. J., 1947), 37. [Hereafter page references to this book are given by numbers in parentheses following citations.]

[2] Additional justification is required for basing textual analysis on an authorized but unsupervised translation. This procedure seemed advisable from the start. It still does so, even now that I have checked all citations against the original French edition, to forestall possible criticism. As is inevitable, minor discrepancies may be noted on most pages, and subtle shadings are lost in certain key passages: "du jour au lendemain" versus "between night and morning"; "ce ne fut qu'une clameur" versus "a clamor arose"; 20 out of 50 versus 21 out of 50 Dijon guilds; etc., etc. None of these discrepancies affect substantive issues (a remarkable tribute to the translator's carefulness). Where they do faintly impinge on my analysis, I have found no instances where my argument would be weakened—only a few where it might be very slightly helped—by citing directly from the French text or translating from it myself. There is, then, no good reason not to follow the most convenient course and stay with a single translated version containing easily checked page references. There is one very good reason not to send the reader back to pages from the French edition, namely, its remarkable inaccessibility—on the history of which, see Palmer's preface (vi).

[3] Cited from the testimonial by Crane Brinton on back cover of 1957 (Vintage) paperback edition (New York, 1957).

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ing in peripheral fields. Finally its outlines have been reproduced by the author, himself, in his magisterial volume *La Révolution Française*[4] and are thus impressed anew upon all those who become specialists in the field of French revolutionary studies. Puzzles resulting from the main features of Lefebvre's presentation are, as a result, even now being duplicated in a wide variety of other works.

Briefly stated, he presents the coming of the Revolution as a drama divided into four acts, with the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, the urban populace, and the peasantry each, in turn, commanding the center of the stage. Each act is introduced by an analysis of the social structure and psychology of the group involved, followed by a narration of the episodes in which it played a central role. By employing a single framework, based on the social structure of eighteenth-century France, to sort out and order tangled, overlapping episodes, the author has been able to compress a mass of unwieldy material into a terse and unusually lucid account. The clarity of his scheme accounts both for the popularity of the text and for its lasting impact upon a variety of readers. In his preface to the American edition the translator has summarized this impact:

> On the debated question of who started the Revolution . . . he [Lefebvre] answers that all classes were in one way or another responsible; that the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, the urban masses and the peasants, each independently and for reasons of its own, initiated revolutionary action (xiii–xiv).

To suggest that the urban masses and peasants initiated "revolutionary action" stretches the term "revolutionary" somewhat beyond its proper limits. Insurrections, *émeutes,* uprisings are not, after all, equivalent to revolutions. As a result, Lefebvre's answer is susceptible to a somewhat different interpretation—not conveyed by his chapter headings but clear enough, nonetheless, from his analysis. This somewhat different interpretation is also given by the translator in his preface:

> M. Lefebvre shows how all classes combined under the leadership of the aristocracy to overthrow the absolutist Bourbon regime. . . . Division thereafter took place, for the aristocracy, being only human, hesitated to surrender all the privileges of its position. The bourgeoisie came to the fore, taking advantage of popular insurrection in town and country. But the regime introduced by the bourgeoisie was not an instrument of class domination; it had something to offer everybody and indeed postulated that no such things as fixed classes existed (xv–xvi).

We have then two partly contradictory main themes. On one hand, each class separately and independently initiates revolutionary action; on the

[4] Georges Lefebvre, *La Révolution Française* (rev. ed., Paris, 1951), 107–46.

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other, the aristocracy leads a concerted movement against royal absolutism and then, having paralyzed the royal power, is in turn paralyzed itself by independent action initiated by the bourgeoisie. This latter class is not thereafter paralyzed in turn by urban and rural uprisings. To the contrary, the last two acts merge with the second one, as all three classes collaborate, under bourgeois leadership, to bury the aristocracy "under the ruins of the Old Regime" (3). This second theme, already embedded in a rich and profuse historical literature, suggests that the sections devoted to the "Popular" and "Peasant" Revolutions do not altogether deserve to be assigned equal weight as separate acts in the drama. In fact, the action initiated by the "Bourgeois Revolution" does appear to carry the author beyond the confines of his scheme—resulting in its abandonment toward the end of the book, where a section entitled "The Rights of Man and the Citizen" encompasses a less clearly focused political narrative of events from Bastille Day to the October Days.

Both themes appear most compatible in the earlier sections of the book. There they collaborate to impress upon the reader the importance of independent action initiated by the bourgeoisie when it "loudly demanded equality before the law" (37), acting in defiance of the Paris Parlement. We are concerned with the fact that the author's evidence does not substantiate his inference that this action was initiated by the bourgeoisie (however we define this difficult to define social sector). Here the order he imposes upon his material and the data he supplies work at cross-purposes with each other.

The point at issue comes, according to the author's scheme, when the Paris Parlement on September 23, 1788, ruled that the Estates-General should be constituted according to the precedent set in 1614. Up to this point the "aristocratic revolution" was proceeding without intervention from other social sectors and appeared to be successful in accomplishing its purpose. The Bourbon monarchy had been forced to concede constitutional limitations upon royal power, and, crippled by bankruptcy, forced to act in accordance with this concession: by reinstating the Paris Parlement and agreeing to convoke an Estates-General to determine fiscal policy. In prior decades, since the era of the *Fronde,* the political prerogatives of the intermediary orders had been weakened, those of the crown extended. A reversal of this trend after so long an interval of time may be appropriately classified as a "revolution." Major alterations in an unwritten constitution were being made. But one should note that this sort of revolution was not unprecedented. Prolonged experience, at home and abroad, could account for the behavior of the contestants in the struggle. As the author himself points

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out, these particular "beginnings of the Revolution" may be viewed as "the last offensive of the aristocracy." They represented, he says, "merely the crowning effort" of this class, the culmination of a struggle that had begun with the first Capetian kings (16). Similarly, earlier "times of troubles" had seen not only the coincidence of empty royal treasuries with noble sedition but also widespread outbreaks of urban *émeutes,* peasant uprisings, and even municipal insurrections.

If we agree with Lefebvre that the Revolution of 1789 begins "strictly speaking" with an orchestrated wave of protest over the issue of representation at the Estates-General, it is because this is the first large-scale response to the prolonged political and financial crisis that differentiates it from all preceding "times of troubles." The organization of this protest movement could not have been anticipated since it had no precedents in the annals of French statecraft. Its effectiveness in throwing the authorities off balance owed much to its coming from no familiar centers of sedition, no duly constituted groups in particular, but from many different amorphous groups who seemed to be at large. As the author notes, as late as "the summer of 1788 there was no reason to anticipate that the bourgeoisie would intervene in the name of the whole Third Estate in the conflict between the royal power and the aristocracy" (51).

It is this unanticipated intervention in the fall of 1788, made in the name of the whole Third Estate, that seems to lie at the heart of the question: "who started the French Revolution?" Who was responsible for this intervention? What scanty evidence the author supplies, relating to the social composition of the groups who intervened, does not bear out his implication that initiative passed from one class to another. This appears to be true however loosely or widely one cares to define the term "bourgeoisie" or even the much larger residual category "Third Estate." His evidence, to the contrary, suggests that a loose coalition of men drawn from all three estates provided the initial impetus for the protest movement and steered it through to obtain what is described as "The First Victory of the Bourgeoisie." On his own showing, intervention came from persistently undefined members of a shadowy "patriot party" led by a "Committee of Thirty," only nine of whose members are named. Not one of those named could be characterized as "bourgeois" or as members of the Third Estate.[5] When leaders other than those belonging to this committee are mentioned, moreover, a sizable proportion turn out also to belong to the first two estates. In every passage describing political action the names of the real men who initiated

[5] See names given in citation about this committee on page 82, below.

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this action are presented to the reader. (Some of their faces even illustrate the French edition.[6]) But the blank-faced visage of the bourgeoisie is invariably substituted in analyzing the significance of this action, introducing it, summing it up, or generalizing about it.

Thus we are told about the first moves made to protest the Parlement's ruling: "In aligning themselves against the privileged classes, the bourgeoisie took the name hitherto claimed in common by all who opposed the royal power. *They* formed the 'national' or 'Patriot' party [italics mine]" (52). Who are *the real people* who took the initiative to form this more exclusive, class-oriented party?

> . . . Great noblemen, the duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the marquis de La Fayette, the marquis de Condorcet, and certain members of the Parliament, Adrien du Port, Hérault de Séchelles, Le Pelletier de Saint-Fargeau. These men, to take the lead of the movement, joined with bankers like the Labordes[7], academicians like the lawyer Target[8] and jurists and writers of note, such as Bergasse and Lacretelle, Servan and Volney. The party organized itself for propaganda. Like the Parliaments and the Breton nobility before them, each man made use of his personal connections. Correspondents in the depths of the provinces did the same. . . . The general staff of the new party met in certain drawing rooms like that of Mme de Tessé, soon to be Mounier's Egeria. Journalists harangued in the cafés . . . (52–53).

The phrase "to take the lead of the movement" is misleading. There was no "bourgeois" movement in the summer of 1788 organized by bankers, academicians, jurists, and writers for some great noblemen to join or to lead. There was no party to organize itself. None of those who "took the lead" could be depicted as "fellow travelers," climbing on a bandwagon that was already rolling. All of them were planning how to beat the drums and wave the banners in order to attract a procession, as they did by the winter's end. Although he sums the matter up—"the bourgeoisie from the first move showed shrewd political sense" (55)—the author, instead, describes how nonbourgeois leaders made the first moves, employed shrewd political

[6] See full portrait (by Boze) of Mirabeau (facing p. 64) and smaller ones of La Fayette, Bailly, Mounier, Sieyès, Noailles (facing p. 112) in *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf*.

[7] The earlier description of the aristocracy tells us (13) that a daughter of the banker Laborde became the Comtesse de Noailles, thus linking the Labordes with La Fayette's family circle. This sort of alliance of great nobles with the *haute bourgeoisie* points to the fallacy of dividing revolutionary leadership into aristocratic and bourgeois elements. It should be noted that financial connections linking both groups are not as significant as and do not necessarily correlate with social, familial, or personal affinities. Thus business associates may be excluded or snubbed—even down to the present—by aristocrats who prefer the company of members of their own class. D'Artois' investment in the Javel works (13) thus tells us nothing at all about his political or social orientation.

[8] On the important continuous role played by this academician, see numerous references to Target in the index.

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tactics, utilized extensive personal connections, and expended much printer's ink in order to mobilize and organize resistance over the issue of "doubling the Third."

> The question is whether a central intelligence directed this orchestra of protest. . . . A directing role can apparently be attributed only to the Committee of Thirty of which unfortunately we know very little. It met especially at the house of Adrien du Port and its membership is said to have included the duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, La Fayette, Condorcet, the duc d'Aiguillon[9] . . . Sieyès . . . and Talleyrand. . . . Mirabeau also came to the meetings. This committee inspired pamphlets, circulated models for the petitions of grievances, supported candidacies and dispatched agents to the provinces. . . . But the influence of the Committee of Thirty . . . would be greatly exaggerated were we to imagine that everything done in every town was merely in execution of its orders. The state of communications allowed no such strict control. If the movement prospered it was because the local bourgeoisie proved its initiative . . . (53–54).

Possibly the local bourgeoisie did prove its initiative in the provinces although one wonders about the social composition of those correspondents in its depths. Certainly it was not the Parisian bourgeoisie that took the initiative in their home town, but rather a socially heterogeneous, ideologically homogeneous collection of notables and nobodies drawn from the three estates. All that the Parisian leaders seem to have shared in common was that their private social circles overlapped and that they "unreservedly adopted the new ideas" (52). The point is not that everything done everywhere was done on the basis of orders from the Committee of Thirty. It is rather that, as the author tells us, what central organization the state of communications permitted *was* provided by this group. On the basis of what happened in Paris and judging from the other evidence provided it seems plausible that where local initiative did come, it came from similarly heterogeneous provincial groups.

A blurring of class divisions characterized the earlier common front formed against the royal power. The nobility did not monopolize provincial distrust of the court and the great town of Paris. Hostility to the centralizing Bourbon court and bureaucracy and defense of the local autonomy of provincial estates had cut across class divisions. "Particularism rather than privilege," we later learn, most persistently resisted the effort to liquidate *ancien régime* institutions (165). Class divisions, themselves, cut across the clergy and the legal profession. The multiple gradations and distinctions,

[9] The Duc d'Aiguillon, a prime mover along with Target, La Fayette, and the latter's son-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles, in the night of August 4, 1789, is later described as "one of the greatest landowners in France" (161).

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the plural inequalities and privileges that led to overlapping and crisscrossing social groupings in *ancien régime* France do not, in short, lend themselves to a clear-cut dichotomy between any two large classes. This appears to be true with respect to the division of opinion over representation to the Estates-General. Members of the second estate were divided on this issue. A section of the Assembly of Notables, presided over by the Comte de Provence, pronounced after a very close vote in favor of doubling the Third (59). The Third Estate was, itself, by no means united on the issue of privilege. Much later in the book (a year later in time) we are told "since provinces and towns had privileges also, the aristocracy would not be without secret supporters within the Third Estate itself" (157). As "owners of manors or fiefs," as "managers, middlemen or lawyers for manorial lords" many bourgeois, it later turns out, provided aristocrats with "silent support" (161). The so-called "liberal" nobles and most of the parish priests provided constant support for the "patriot party." There is, then, no reason to assume, in the absence of evidence, that the protest against the Parlement's ruling was locally initiated by groups drawn exclusively from any one class or estate. What evidence is offered points in the opposite direction.

We had earlier been informed, in the first act of the drama, that

> the aristocratic class developed an organization for political action, exchanging correspondence and passing instructions from town to town. The Committee of Thirty, which was soon to take over the leadership of the Third Estate, seems to have originated as a center of parliamentary resistance (33).[10]

If Parisian leadership of the Third Estate emerged from an organization developed by "the aristocratic class" (by heterogeneous groups of "notables" might be more accurate), why should not local initiative have emerged from a similar source? In fact, precedents established both by the royal ministers Calonne and Brienne, experimenting with newly formed provincial assemblies (24, 32), and by the "aristocratic revolution" in defense of old provincial estates, provided those who pressed the issue of "doubling the Third" with their main arguments. The case of the Vizille assembly—when

[10] The author does not account for the apparent contradiction involved in a center of parliamentary resistance that becomes a center of resistance to parliamentary authority. This is only one of many puzzles obscured by the very clarity of his scheme. Since one-half of the puzzle belongs to the first act, the other to the second, the reader, like the author, is apt to forget that the pieces belong together. Thus the Breton Third Estate is, on pages 18–19, represented by nobles and privileged persons. On pages 60–61 this same privileged body defies the nobles and clergy until fiscal equality long demanded by it is granted. The fact that municipal oligarchs did have different interests than the hereditary nobles would, in this case, solve the puzzle created by overdramatizing the solid front composed of privileged status groups in the first act. But no such simple solution of the first-mentioned puzzle occurs to me.

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"the aristocracy of Dauphiny got out of hand" (32) and after successfully defying the royal minister conceded "double representation to the Third Estate, vote by head and fiscal equality" (51)—is twice cited in this connection (51, 55).[11]

We are told also how the program to press double representation was executed:

> the scheme was to overwhelm the government with a flood of petitions for which the municipalities whether willing or not were obliged to take responsibility during the autumn of 1788. At Dijon, for example, the matter was put through as follows: Some twenty "notables"[12] met and decided to submit to their respective guilds and corporate bodies the questions of doubling the Third and of vote by head (56).

Favorable response from roughly twenty out of fifty guilds,[13] resistance from the municipal authorities overcome by an invasion of the town hall, and a petition sent to the King in the name of the Dijon Third Estate followed. Similar action occurred in the other towns of Burgundy. Who devised this "scheme," suggested to the original twenty notables in Dijon, elsewhere in Burgundy, and presumably throughout many other provinces in the vast realm of France that they canvass the guilds and force, by direct action, the signing of similar petitions by municipalities? "A directing role can apparently be attributed only to the Committee of Thirty" (53). In the one example offered we see that the burghers of Dijon were by no means unanimous in their response to the issue pressed upon them. Thirty or so guilds did not respond. Violence was required to force urban oligarchs to sign and send the petitions.

Evidence drawn from countless such towns, located in all the French provinces, would be required to determine precisely how members of the

[11] Nowhere is the analysis more puzzling than in the account (32) of this action by the Dauphiny aristocracy. "Still . . . dissatisfied, *because* Brienne . . . had granted double representation [italics mine]" and vote by head to the new provincial assemblies, this aristocracy demanded the return of their old estates. They defied his refusal to grant this request, "obtained the support of the bourgeoisie," and then at Vizille granted the very forms of representation that had, we were told, provoked their original defiance. By considering the issue of Versailles versus the provinces rather than that of aristocrats versus commoners this affair might seem less puzzling. Regional rivalries that crisscrossed social cleavages tend to find no place in the book, but they were of equal importance in determining the forms of conflict that set the stage for the coming of the Revolution.

[12] As always, when specific examples come in the narrative, the blank-faced bourgeoisie disappears. In dealing with the issue of revolutionary initiative, social nomenclature which is vague appears to be more accurate than that which is precise. The closer one gets to the real men involved the further one is from clearly polarized class divisions. It should be noted that even craftsmen in some cases "counted as notables" (44), along with urban oligarchs, academicians, magistrates, and aristocrats.

[13] The French edition has twenty, Palmer's version twenty-one. (See note 2, above.)

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Third Estate divided on this issue. One would like to know, in the one example given, why some burghers and guildsmen (in particular the local lawyers' guild) responded favorably while others did not. But despite the evidence, bourgeois solidarity is blandly taken for granted. According to the author's scheme, in fact, the bourgeoisie moved to the center of the stage just as soon as the Paris Parlement pronounced its verdict.

> . . . A wave of excitement passed over the bourgeoisie at the news that the Estates-General were to be convoked. For the first time since 1614 the king was authorizing the bourgeoisie to speak. At first no struggle was foreseen. . . . The assembly at Vizille had left a deep impression by conceding double representation to the Third Estate. . . . Agreement seemed by no means impossible.[14]
>
> But the outlook changed abruptly when the Parliament of Paris . . . ruled that the Estates-General should be constituted as in 1614. A clamor rose from one end of the kingdom to the other. Between night and morning the popularity of the Parliament vanished (51).

The state of communications, which did not permit Parisian organization to penetrate the provinces and left matters to local initiative, apparently proved more efficient in transmitting news of the Parlement's ruling. The question of who transmitted this news and how it was transmitted is, however, by-passed. The length of the interval between night and morning or "du jour au lendemain" is not discussed. On how the news was received, we are offered some undated comments by Weber and Brissot, told that Mme. Roland and Rabaut-Saint-Étienne "now took passionately to public affairs," and informed of Mallet du Pan's remark: "The controversy has completely changed. King, despotism and constitution are now minor questions. The war is between the Third Estate and the other two orders" (52).[15] Mallet's remarks are dated. They came in January 1789, after three or more months of canvassing and campaigning on the issue of doubling the Third.

It seems to have been this canvassing and campaigning, accompanied by an outpouring of pamphlets that "astonished contemporaries" by their number (54), that accounted for the way hitherto quiescent subjects took passionately to public affairs in the winter of 1788–1789. But disappointment at

[14] To suggest that agreement about representation seemed possible before the Parlement's ruling conveys a prior preoccupation with this issue before it was posed. The issues over which men might agree or disagree were still invisible during the two and a half months from July 5 to September 23, 1788, when the wave of excitement rippled over literate sectors of the public. It seems likely that no one, bourgeois or not, knew quite what to expect after learning an Estates-General would meet, that all sorts of vague hopes and plans were encouraged rather than specific expectations about how the orders would be represented.

[15] Eighteenth-century journalists, however intelligent, were less well informed than their modern counterparts and just as inaccurate. In fact, the war between the Third Estate and the other two orders saw the clergy split on the issue.

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the Parlement's ruling and immediate action designed to reverse it came first of all from groups who had already been active in the first act of the drama. Indignation, defiance, and effective action from such quarters are, however, muffled by the author and detached from the public storm of protest.

> As was to be expected, some of the privileged were inclined to grant the Third Estate a certain satisfaction of its pride. On December 5, 1788, the "nationals" in the Parliament of Paris prevailed on that body to declare, by formal order, that it had no intention of prejudging the number of deputies in the Estates-General, and that the number was not fixed by law (58–59).

"In private," we are also told, "some of the privileged expressed themselves definitely in favor of the Third Estate" (59). Presumably public expressions of such an attitude were not becoming to aristocrats. Yet something more than the tepid inclination to grant commoners "a certain satisfaction" is conveyed by a letter cited from one aristocrat to another.

> Some think the non-privileged, who are the base and pillar of the State, should be without sufficient representatives in an Assembly which is to regulate their destiny. This is really too insulting and will not work. In any case the thing has been seen through. It will be best to be careful of what is done. . . . But I perceive my dear count that I am repeating to you what you know and think (59).

This was, to be sure, a private letter. But the convictions contained in it were implemented by public action coming from the same privileged social strata, resulting not only in the Parlement's reversal of its ruling but also in the official decree of December 27 granting double representation to the Third Estate.

These moves did not occur without considerable opposition from many aristocrats, whose resistance, we are told, led "many bourgeois to become more radical in their ideas" (61). Along with the later behavior of the Breton deputies and a shift in Rabaut-Saint-Étienne's views, two illustrations of this change in bourgeois attitudes are offered. One is a famous pamphlet by Abbé Sieyès: *What Is the Third Estate?* The other is a famous printed speech by Count Mirabeau, eulogizing Marius for exterminating the order of the nobility (61–62). It is typically difficult to describe the social position of both authors in terms of conventional social nomenclature. Mirabeau was a "deserter from the nobility" who "had lived by his pen in the service of Calonne and Calonne's enemies" (71). Sieyès was a frustrated member of the second estate barred from a bishopric as a commoner whose "pamphlets made him an oracle" (69). In their service to the Committee of Thirty

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both "were certainly in contact with the Duc d'Orleans" (54). As publicists drawn from the first two estates who were ultimately elected to represent the Third, they are ill-adapted to illustrate changes in attitudes on the part of a single social class. They seem better suited to illustrate the more amorphous social strata to which "men of letters" (a formidable pressure group in its own right) belonged, and from which the attack on both despotism and privilege, the thoroughgoing assault on all the traditional ruling elites first came.

On the evidence provided then, sensitivity to a ruling that was taken as an insult to the nonprivileged was not confined to the bourgeoisie. The canvassing, pamphleteering, and circulating of petitions to reverse this ruling were neither initiated nor directed by the bourgeoisie. What precedents existed for a contrary ruling and what action was taken to obtain a reversal from the Parlement did not come from the bourgeoisie. Yet all of these measures receive the same treatment as the scheme that was put through in the fall of 1788:

> By such means, the *bourgeoisie* set the "nation" into motion. *Its* maneuver was denounced then, and has been ever since. But the aristocracy, shortly before, had acted no differently. Every political movement naturally has its instigators and leaders.[16] No one has ever dared to maintain that *the Third Estate,* invited to appear in the Estates-General, could have thought it natural to leave the aristocracy supreme in the assembly. Hence, what *the leaders of the patriot party* are blamed for is simply to have roused *the nation* to shake off *its* torpor and organize *itself* to defend *its* cause [italics mine] (56).[17]

One must bear in mind that what is meant by "torpor" is the political passivity of quiescent subjects accustomed for hundreds of years to leave decisions pertaining to affairs of state to others. Otherwise one is apt to overlook the necessity of explaining how that torpor was shaken off. There was as yet no "nation" to be set in motion or, a more problematic issue, to rouse or organize itself. Since no evidence is presented concerning "maneuvers" by the blank-faced bourgeoisie—since scattered unorganized commoners were not in a position to undertake such maneuvers—one is at a loss concerning the means by which they set "the nation" in motion. As already noted, the maneuvers of the leaders of the patriot party may be ex-

[16] The presumption is that movements give rise to instigators and leaders. Some movements do, but, in my view, the reverse was the case with regard to the point at issue.

[17] The italics are employed to suggest ambiguity concerning the group whose behavior is involved, who set whom into motion, and who defended whose cause. At least four, possibly five or six collective terms are used: the bourgeoisie, the leaders of the patriot party, the Third Estate, the "nation," the instigators and leaders.

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amined. It is not surprising that they appear similar to those employed by "the aristocracy, shortly before." For most of these leaders are the very same men whose tactics the author had described "shortly before"—in connection with aristocratic political organization—before he had them "range themselves" on the same side as the bourgeoisie. In fact, he shows them choosing sides before lines had been drawn, setting the terms of the debate, and canvassing opinion on it. How could they range themselves on the same side as men who had yet to be heard from?

To ask this question is not to ignore the fact that the policies pursued by the leaders would have proved ineffective had not support been forthcoming from men who had yet to be heard from. Of course such massive support from literate commoners was required for subsequent events to spin themselves out as they did. But we are concerned with who intervened rather than with all the unforeseen consequences of the intervention. Our question is designed to suggest the necessity of distinguishing between how contemporaries aligned themselves before the fact and how historians realign them after it. When this distinction is not made, the patriot leaders tend to be portrayed as "trimmers," siding first with one group and then (in many instances, after "deserting their class") with another. The evidence suggests, to the contrary, that they played a strategic role by not behaving as "trimmers," by their unwavering, constant perseverance and willingness to exert steady pressure toward their chosen goal.

"No one has ever dared to suggest that the Third Estate could have thought it natural to leave the aristocracy supreme in the Assembly." The author himself shows that had the orders not been kept separate, it was feared that many members of the Third Estate would vote to be represented by aristocrats (55). What men thought "natural" before the French Revolution needs to be distinguished from what historians view as "natural" thereafter. Certainly few of the customs of the *ancien régime* appeared natural to men steeped in Enlightenment thought. But most of them probably appeared natural enough to men who were not. Both groups confronted what appeared by the late eighteenth century to be an "unnatural" vagueness about numerical representation in earlier meetings of the Estates-General. For, as antiquarians scouring the records discovered, the Third Estate, although officially summoned to send one delegate for each sent by the other two orders, had in fact sent many more than its share of delegates, outnumbering the clergy on one hand and the nobility on the other by different numbers which varied in each case[18] (and which made little difference since there was

[18] This is not discussed by Lefebvre; I have taken it from J. M. Thompson, *The French Revolution* (New York, 1945), 4.

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also an unnatural agreement about consistently voting by order[19]). To follow the precedent of 1614 precisely was in this regard impossible. When the Estates-General had to be resurrected, after its demise more than a century and a half before, such vagueness concerning quantitative representation no longer came naturally to any party concerned. The fact that some eighteenth-century provincial estates had already doubled the Third and were voting by head suggests what France suffered by letting the Estates-General atrophy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In place of a relatively flexible institution that could accommodate social change, Frenchmen confronted only a brittle precedent that had to be either artificially reconstructed or deliberately broken. No one could escape this either-or issue. Every notable had to rethink and make explicit his view of how the body politic should be constituted. The resulting division of opinion involved conflicting concepts of a well-ordered commonwealth, incompatible opinions about how it should be governed, and rival ambitions about who should govern it.

Was this division congruent with the division between the first two estates and the Third? Did it not first of all divide those who had just emerged victorious in their long struggle with the crown and expected to exploit this victory to the full? Should we not look to the "liberal" aristocracy, even before turning to the bourgeoisie, for a "full consciousness of historic mission" shaped by "the thought of eighteenth century writers" (50)? At least the men who thought it unnatural to leave the aristocracy supreme in the Assembly, who at any rate posed the issue in this way to their fellow countrymen happened—many of them—to be marquis, counts, bishops, *abbés,* in short, members of the first two estates. Why did *they* think it unnatural to follow, as best one could, the precedent of 1614? The case could have been presented differently. Why did the leaders of the patriot party feel impelled to present it at all? That it presented itself, so to speak, to these leaders in this form, and that they felt impelled to enlist the support of like-minded compatriots, is what needs to be explained. The Parlement of Paris had decided the case otherwise. A recent analysis of the eighteenth-century robe nobility suggests why it was "natural" for this body to do so.[20] But the Com-

[19] Lefebvre points to the shrewdness of pressing the issue of doubling the Third while leaving open that of voting by head (55, 59–60). Indirectly he shows how the postponement of this latter issue was politically indispensable for the patriots (see pp. 96–97, below). But he never makes clear that when propagandists *did* stipulate "voting by head" or when, as in the Dijon case, the municipal authorities balked on this issue (56), the separation of the orders was taken for granted by *everyone* as far as the elections to the Estates-General went. Voting by head referred *only* to the procedure to be followed at Versailles—after the doubled Third had arrived there.

[20] Franklin Ford, *Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

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mittee of Thirty seems to have originated in robe circles. Members of the Paris Parlement: Adrien du Port, Hérault de Séchelles, Le Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, and the unnamed "nationals" who obtained a reversal on December 5, 1788, worked hard and successfully to create a clamor against the ruling of the very body to which they belonged. It is this sort of purposeful action by active minorities, working both inside and outside duly constituted bodies, that one may unambiguously call "revolutionary." Since it could not be anticipated by contemporaries, authorities could not take measures to forestall it. Since it did not fit familiar formulas derived from prolonged experience with assassination plots and seditions during earlier "times of troubles" and since it could be traced to no court or cabinet, no foreign agents, no one class or group or region, new kinds of conspiratorial hypotheses would be woven to explain it (including those which involved impersonal agents set in motion by an invisible hand).

Instead of being isolated and studied, in *The Coming of the French Revolution,* the behavior of these active minorities, composed of like-minded individuals drawn from all three estates, is treated as marginal or inconsequential. Evidence pertaining to this behavior is invariably subordinated to the clear scheme of each large class acting independently in its own interests. In so far as revolutionary initiative came from some aristocrats, for example, attention is distracted from it and focused instead on the resistance of other aristocrats. Those who helped force the first conflict are made to appear as bystanders, or assigned secondary roles as supporting players in the second act. Those who behaved as stereotyped aristocrats are expected to are assigned responsibility for not acceding to the will of "the majority," which historians in retrospect may fathom but contemporaries in prospect had not. Conflict came, we are told, because most aristocrats behaved in their customary manner and expected others to do the same. Concord would have come had they behaved otherwise. The men who did *not* form the first revolutionary pressure group are thus assigned a more strategic role in precipitating the conflict than those who did.

It is true that certain nobles had less narrow views. These men, in the Estates-General, were to ally themselves with the Third, take the initiative in surrendering privileges on the night of August 4 and vote for the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. It is not that they had abandoned hope of keeping their leadership in the modern state, but rather that they were willing to count simply on the prestige of their names, the influence of their wealth and the claims of their own abilities. . . . The essential fact is that they consented[21] to being legally

[21] On the author's evidence, they did not merely consent; they worked hard for this end. Nor did they merely vote for the declaration; they were the very first to propose it (La Fayette

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no more than citizens of France. But they were *only a minority;* otherwise the Revolution would have taken place by common accord.

> Should the Third Estate have contented itself, respectfully and submissively, with what the great majority of the aristocracy were willing to offer it? In any case it did not think so, and loudly demanded equality before the law. At this point, strictly speaking, the Revolution of 1789 began [italics mine] (36–37).

Here the curtain comes down on the first act of the drama. An analysis of the social structure of the bourgeoisie sets the stage for the second. This analysis appears irrelevant to the rhetorical question concerning what the Third Estate should have done. Nor does it help us much in our effort to understand how the Revolution came. For what we must ask is what the heterogeneous, scattered, and politically unconstituted members of the Third Estate would have done had they not been presented with a most appealing and very clear alternative to respectful submission. It seems likely that whatever they might have thought and done and however widespread was a latent resentment of aristocratic privilege, had they not been provided with many identical petitions to get signed and many similar pamphlets to read, local responses of a very limited short-wave resonance would have resulted. There are, even today, many different ways of demanding equality before the law. There were many more in the vast realm of France during the *ancien régime* where justice before the law was dispensed differently in different regions and for different social groups, where there was no uniform law before which any kind of equality could be demanded.

If in the winter of 1788 a single demand sounded "loudly," it was because a sufficient number of similar petitions, singling out for protest the Parlement's ruling and singling out from among all the issues relating to composition, election, convocation, and procedure this ruling might raise, that of double representation for the Third Estate, were forced through scattered municipalities throughout the realm. Since local initiative was required to force through the petitions and since this occurred in many scattered areas, one may agree, roughly speaking, that a considerable number of commoners throughout the country were not content to submit respectfully to what the constituted bodies offered. But when one remembers the long list of earlier insurrections and seditions, it seems evident that a failure to submit to established authorities was not what distinguished the protest movement of 1788 from earlier "times of troubles." Such insubordination had

on July 11, 1789) (89). Along with other Committee of Thirty colleagues, they also played a prominent role in drafting it.

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hitherto been spread out over much longer intervals resulting in "sporadic" episodes, or, when occurring in shorter intervals, had involved so many bewilderingly various localized issues and incidents that historians, even in retrospect, have difficulty patterning and polarizing them.[22] In the winter of 1788 protests came within a remarkably short interval and produced a remarkably uniform appearance. A considerable measure of central organization is suggested by the simultaneity of this action. The unprecedented use made of the duplicative powers of print largely accounts for the uniform character of the clamor.

This clamor, which rose from one end of the nation to the other, was made in the name of the Third Estate and appeared to come from that residual order of the realm. In some regions, we are told, "peasants and workingmen streamed into the halls and the whole Third Estate signed [or marked?] the petition" (56). Although they composed most of the nonprivileged, "the base and pillar of society," and although it was, as yet, by no means clear how the Third Estate was to be represented,[23] the participation of peasants and workingmen in this action is generally not regarded as evidence of revolutionary initiative. Whereas similar participation by a smaller residual category of literate commoners, who did not work with their hands and are diversely defined as "the bourgeoisie," is so regarded. Located in all the provinces of France, however, and presenting "an extreme diversity of condition" (46), this latter group were scarcely better situated than were their unlettered compatriots to ensure the uniformity and simultaneity that made the demands of the Third Estate sound loudly. They had yet to meet together, find some basis for a common accord, or discover how they differed.[24]

On the other hand, the leaders of the resistance to the crown had already gathered in Assemblies of Notables and had already discovered how they differed. The activities of the Committee of Thirty appear inexplicable if we assume, as the author seems to, that the "aristocratic revolution" was made by men who fought royal despotism only with old feudal war cries or the more up-to-date "thèse nobiliaire" in mind. His evidence shows that it had also been made by men who had more "liberal" views about how a modern

[22] On the debate over "vertical" alignments versus horizontal "fronts" resulting from the "thorny problem" of the involvement of social sectors in seventeenth-century seditions, see Leon Bernard, "French Society and Popular Uprisings under Louis XIV," *French Historical Studies*, III (Fall 1964), 454–74.

[23] It was proposed, as well as suggested in grievance lists, that the government should create a separate order of peasants or provide for the separate election of town deputies and rural ones (65).

[24] The delegates to the Third Estate who arrived in Versailles in May 1789 "were unknown to each other and it was impossible to tell how far they would go" (78).

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state should be governed; who had, in addition to their public concern, private personal ambitions. From this evidence, we also infer that these liberal notables moved in social circles that included talented commoners, prefered the latter's company, respected their judgment and competence rather more than that of many of their peers. Such men, it turned out, comprised a minority of the aristocracy. But they were not, for that reason, paralyzed, silenced, or rendered inactive. They were a sizable and powerful minority who had already combined in a loose coalition with a sizable minority of talented commoners who were particularly skilled with their pens. They had already created an organization for political action and correspondence throughout the provinces, had already laid the basis for a shadowy "national" or "patriot" party. They did not lose their initiative when thwarted. To the contrary, they initiated action as leaders of an independent coalition party.

> *In aligning themselves* against the privileged classes *the bourgeoisie* took the name hitherto claimed in common by all who opposed the royal power. *They* formed the "national" or "patriot party." Those of the privileged groups who had unreservedly adopted the new ideas ranged themselves on the same side. . . . *The party organized itself* for propaganda [italics mine] (52).

We would argue that "the party" did not organize itself any more than "the bourgeoisie" aligned themselves, took the name, or formed the party. In so far as men were aligned, the party named, formed, and organized for propaganda, certain notables "who had less narrow views," who were "only a minority," played a leading role. Without the continuity of leadership they provided it would be less easy to speak strictly about the point at which the Revolution of 1789 began. Where there is "common accord" there is no place for revolutionary action. Exceptions in the form of atypical minorities may be dismissed as proving the rule more often than not. But they have to be considered when studying exceptional events. On such occasions one has to determine how rules are broken rather than how they are proved.

In concluding his account of "the first victory" achieved by the "Bourgeois Revolution," the author conveys, always by indirection, that initiative remained in the same hands during the electoral campaign that followed the successful protest movement. The successful electioneering of the patriot party is contrasted with the failure of Necker and other royal ministers to draw up a list of candidates committed to a program of desired reforms. It is contrasted also with the clumsy, uncoordinated attempts at personal in-

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fluence made, here and there, by the chairmen of bailiwick assemblies (66). "Since 1789 there have been political parties with much stronger organization than the patriots of that time but none has met with so little resistance on the part of the government" (67). Until 1789, however, the government had been engaged in mobilizing its forces against seditious elites: namely, the parlements, provincial assemblies, municipal corporations (not to mention a variety of religious orders, the long arm of Rome, and of foreign courts as well). It had no experience with an independent domestic opposition party led by a loose coalition of aristocrats, ecclesiastics, men of letters and of the liberal professions mobilizing opinion against these elites and utilizing for this purpose the full power of the printing press, earlier turned against the crown by the parlements, now, for the first time in France, released from the clandestine channels into which it had been forced.[25]

What is surprising is that even a rudimentary political party could be organized, lists of candidates drawn up, platforms of reforms proposed in less than a year before the Estates had convened—not that subsequent parties would be more strongly organized or that the government failed to forestall this one. With respect to this problem, the author tells us, "The Committee of Thirty . . . assumed a lead whose extent it is impossible to determine" (66–67). On the other hand, he has no doubts,

> It is hardly doubtful that enterprising bourgeois everywhere took concerted action[26] to steer the town and bailiwick assemblies, with as many parish assemblies as possible in addition, by suggesting candidates and circulating models for petitions of grievances. The models were either received from Paris, or, more often, drafted locally (67).

These "enterprising bourgeois" who suggested candidates and drafted local models, independently of those sent from Paris, are necessarily nameless. Two social groups are singled out as playing a predominant role: lawyers who "were very influential" and the village priests who "gave much aid." This is not the only instance, but it is the most transparent, where the vital distinction between being literate (as these village priests apparently were) and being "enterprising bourgeois" (as they surely were not)[27] is overlooked.

[25] The King in his traditional invitation to his subjects to express their views when promising to call an Estates-General on July 5, 1788, "had not intended thereby to grant freedom of the press," but pamphleteers disregarded his intentions, releasing a flood that "astonished contemporaries" (54).

[26] However enterprising they may be, men who are located "everywhere" simply cannot take "concerted action" to steer an electorate toward a given slate of candidates. One group located in one place is required to see that all the others do not "steer" in all directions.

[27] Many bourgeois families sent one son into the priesthood as they sent another into law. But the former were more apt to be attached to cathedral chapters in towns than to village

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This distinction is so vital to all theories pertaining to the coming of the French Revolution, or to the "rise of bourgeoisie to political power," that it seems worth pausing over. Because the electoral assemblies were also deliberative, we are told,

> the most influential bourgeois, or those best informed on public affairs or most accustomed to speaking in public, namely the lawyers, . . . [dominated] throughout the debates. In the bailiwick assemblies, the peasants lacking education and unable to express themselves, let themselves be docilely led. The result was that the representation of the Third Estate was made up uniquely of bourgeois (65).

In light of the vital distinction, we would argue that it was made up, almost uniquely (aside from three priests and a dozen noblemen [67]) of a nonprivileged literate laity. The acquisition of literacy, by whatever means and in whatever era since the sixteenth century, was the most important single determinant as far as the social composition of the Third Estate delegation went. As a group, literate commoners *had* no social structure or nomenclature—medieval institutions had not been designed to take them into account. But in countless villages and even in some small towns, they were nonetheless a very distinctive group. The village schoolmaster was yet to become as ubiquitous as the parish priest. The latter was out of the running as a delegate of the Third Estate. Lawyers "who lived in the villages or often visited them for manorial pleadings" (67) represented in some cases the only possible alternative.

One reason for so many varying definitions of "the bourgeoisie" is the impossibility of making this group, however regarded in terms of status, occupation, economic class, style of life, and so forth, congruent with the much more amorphous body of men who had, ever since the printing press, been rising from the ranks of a preliterate population by mastering the written word. To whom else could this population turn but to such men when all the traditional literate elites—teachers, preachers, officers, bureaucrats—were out of the running? One may only guess how many more priests, aristocrats, or high magistrates might have been elected instead of the lawyers and other literate commoners who were, had not the former been eliminated from the running. Evidence is offered that the leaders of the patriot party feared the number might have been significantly large:

parishes. They were also apt to be the less enterprising among bourgeois offspring. Finally, to apply the term "bourgeois" to village priests as well as to "the upper level of the nobility . . . whose conditions of life drew them to the bourgeoisie" (14) is to stretch this much-abused term beyond its already frayed limits. There is something wildly askew about a structural model that includes the top layer of nobles and the bottom layer of the clergy within the middle ranks of "the middle class."

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Seeming to fear the prestige of the privileged persons and to think them capable of imposing on commoners to the point of being elected to represent them, the patriot party often demanded, even later on, that each order be required to choose its representatives from its own members (55).

This is presented to show, not how elections were partly rigged by rigorously enforcing the separation of orders, but rather as evidence of "the moderation of the Third" despite the atypical "trenchant tone" of Sieyès' pamphlet. "The patriot party, in fact, by no means asked that the Estates-General be elected without regard to the three orders" (55). Of course it did not ask this. To obtain an overwhelming majority composed of the doubled Third, parish priests, and liberal nobles, working under the leaders of the patriot party, the electorate had to be insulated until after the elections. The abrupt accession to political power of the Third Estate depended very precisely on how demands for "equality before the law" were formulated and phased. The sudden appearance of a commanding majority composed of hitherto politically quiescent unknown literate commoners (often described as the political accession of the "revolutionary bourgeoisie") paradoxically depended just as much on preserving the medieval tradition of separate and qualitatively differentiated orders as it did on pressing the issue of doubling the Third, while holding in reserve—until after the scene of action had shifted from the provinces to the capital—insistence on merging the orders and voting by head.

This majority was the freakish result of exploiting in less than a single year two wholly incompatible, thoroughly medieval and thoroughly modern, concepts of the body politic: hierarchical, heterogeneous, and qualitative; egalitarian, homogeneous, and quantitative.[28] It involved keeping apart what, throughout the country, might have belonged together had procedures been consistently based on modern legal fictions: a rural, provincial electorate and their traditional governors and leaders. It also lumped together as a single unprivileged order groups that were in fact kept apart, not merely by traditional regional frontiers and social gradations, but also by a yawning

[28] The conflict produced by the collision of these two concepts (one belonging to the era of manuscript culture, the other to that of the printing press) was thrashed out in parliamentary debates during the crisis preceding passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 in England. It was never thrashed out by reasoned debate in eighteenth-century France (where the literacy rate was probably lower than in seventeenth-century England, a rural population enfranchised as it would not be in England until 1885) since those who might have argued for the old order—with considerably more cogency than did the defenders of rotten boroughs—were reduced to an impotent minority even before a national assembly had been constituted. "The deputation of the nobles included some men of talent but circumstances were against their making their weight felt" (67). The French aristocracy may have been less flexible than their British counterparts, but they were faced by a more unpalatable solution to swallow and asked to do so in a single year rather than over the course of hundreds of years.

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literacy gap. Only the small minority that stood on one side of this gap—who belonged to the reading public served by Enlightenment authors and constituted the most atypical portion of the Third Estate—was thus singled out by a kind of unnatural selection or historical "accident" to represent at Versailles the entire nation. The atrophy of French representative institutions, encouraged by the crown, coinciding with the unevenly phased impact of literacy, which no one understood or controlled, produced this singular result. It was put together by historical circumstance, not by conniving politicians, none of whom probably clearly understood what had happened. But the patriot leaders did at least take full advantage of the opportunity offered them to exploit long-embalmed and newly resurrected fifteenth-century electoral procedures in the interests of recently developed eighteenth-century legal fictions and, thus, to overwhelm the old elites by a monstrous majority. Lefebvre so completely overlooks this that later in his account he presents the failure to merge the orders in the countryside immediately as evidence of a sociopolitical lag, impeding a thoroughgoing liquidation of the *ancien régime*.

> the three orders, though united in the Assembly, had not disappeared from the social structure of the nation. It had not even occurred to the Third to force the election of a new Assembly, so that nobles and priests retained their seats though representing an infinitesimal minority of Frenchmen. . . . It cannot then be claimed that the Third contemplated a class rule (89–90).

The nobles and priests who retained their seats may have represented an infinitesimal minority of the population. The literate commoners did not represent a much larger one. Judging by earlier fears of the patriots, had an election of a new Assembly been forced right after the orders had been merged, more nobles and priests, rather than fewer, might well have been seated at Versailles.

> Divide the human race into twenty parts and there will be nineteen composed of those who work with their hands and who will never know that there was a Locke in the world; in the twentieth part remaining, how few men are there who can read? and among those who can, there will be twenty who read romances to one who studies science. The number of those who think is excessively small and they do not think about troubling the world.[29]

If we substitute eighteenth-century Frenchmen for "the human race," Voltaire's observation, ironic or not, appears to be well founded. The exces-

[29] Voltaire, "Lettres Philosophiques: XIII—sur M. Locke," cited by J. H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind: A Survey of the Intellectual Background of the Present Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926), 363; see also a longer, differently translated version in *id., The Career of Philosophy, From the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (New York, 1962), 870.

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sively small number of eighteenth-century Frenchmen who could read, who had heard of Locke, preferred science to romance, and could "think" were, most of them, surely not consciously thinking about troubling the world. They had never participated in noble seditions or popular *émeutes* before Voltaire's day; nor did they do so for a decade after his death. Their inner composure was possibly disturbed by silent dialogues with favorite authors whose messages tended to slip past inner censors much as they did, via clandestine channels, past outer ones. But whatever their fantasies—and no one can read the minds of book readers—they remained politically passive, probably the most orderly subjects of an occasionally disordered realm. Engaged, on the whole profitably, pursuing their diverse trades, occupations, and professions, they had, in fact, much to lose and little to gain from the disruption of domestic peace. Even after delegates drawn exclusively from this "excessively small number" of literate townsmen who "were for the most part mature men in comfortable circumstances . . . educated . . . proficient in some specialized calling . . ." (68) arrived at Versailles, six-hundred strong, the leaders of the patriot party had every reason to expect, if not peasantlike docility, at least solid support from these political unknowns. They had no reason to anticipate that future historians would regard their own role as subordinate to that of the deputies they dominated. At least another year would pass before their expectations would appear unwarranted. As the author notes, in discussing the National Assembly: "It is also characteristic that, at least at first, the most prominent leaders were men from the privileged classes" (69). From this fact, he suggests, the reader might judge "what a place the aristocracy might have retained in the state had it been willing to compromise" (69), whereas we would conclude, what a role some privileged notables played in the coming of the French Revolution because they were *un*willing to compromise. And what a role former members of the Committee of Thirty and their friends continued to play in the National Assembly. For not only Sieyès, Mirabeau, and Target elected to represent the Third, Talleyrand representing the First, but also such members of the second estate as La Fayette, Lally-Tollendal, Clermont Tonnerre, the Vicomte de Noailles, the Duc d'Aiguillon, Mathieu de Montmorency, Adrien du Port, Charles and Alexander de Lameth, are singled out as playing a prominent part in events and reforms down through 1790 (68).[30]

On "the debated question of who 'started the Revolution,'" then, the author's evidence suggests that initiative came, beginning with the first

[30] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt also is mentioned as a most influential speaker on business affairs (68).

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Assembly of Notables called by Calonne in 1786 through the stormy year of 1789 and beyond, from a loose coalition of like-minded men drawn from all three estates. No conventional social nomenclature appears applicable to this group whose collective biography remains to be written. Judging by the frequency with which the same names turn up, in conjunction with the Committee of Thirty and the leaders of the patriot party, this group was not very large—roughly the same number as might appear in a composite portrait of our own "founding fathers" seems to be involved. Some sort of collective biography of these men appears to be indispensable to any understanding of how the Revolution of 1789 came. It does not pose the same formidable problems as attempting to analyze the entire social structure of eighteenth-century France. Yet in contrast with the remarkable dexterity he displays in handling the latter, almost insuperable problem, Lefebvre treats the former, more manageable, and equally relevant one in a remarkably slipshod fashion. Only three of his most "prominent leaders" are thus granted cursory sketches. The Marquis de La Fayette is curiously characterized as "the incarnation of the *bourgeois* revolution." His "romantic illusions and juvenile vanity" predominated over "political skill or realistic sense." He served more as a "symbol than a leader" (69). Abbé Sieyès, the "theorist" and "moving spirit of the juridical revolution," was "never known except to the bourgeoisie" (his services to the Committee of Thirty and contacts with the Duc d'Orléans notwithstanding?). Although he "was neither a speaker nor a man of action," he, "more than any other, seems to have led the Third in the early weeks" (69). The Comte de Mirabeau "never managed to overcome the distrust which was only too well justified by his adventurous past and venal habits." That he was capable of selling out to the court or to Necker, "all who knew him were certain." Because of this, "while he rendered the Third Estate great services, he never succeeded in controlling it" (70–71).

Clearly an aristocrat incarnating a bourgeois revolution who was not a leader but a symbol, a theorist who could neither speak nor act, and a corrupt adventurer must appear as somewhat marginal figures. Three literary stereotypes having been offered, the matter is summed up: "In summary, none of these men were able to dominate the scene to the point of personifying the Revolution of 1789 which remained the collective achievement of the Third Estate" (71).

What has been described, however, was the collective achievement of more than one marquis, one *abbé,* and one count—the collective achievement of Sieyès, Mirabeau, La Fayette *and* Talleyrand, Condorcet, Adrien du

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Port, Hérault de Séchelles, Le Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, the Duc d'Aiguillon, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Laborde, Target, Volney, Mounier, and so forth. In so far as a revolution such as that of 1789 may be personified or incarnated, this group of men did so. In so far as concerted collective action was involved, these men conducted it.[31] As constant leaders of the patriot party who steered the protest movement of 1788 and the electoral campaign of 1789, who pushed through the transformation of the Estates-General into a National Assembly, who proposed and drafted the Declaration of the Rights of Man, who abolished all privilege on the night of August 4, they provided the basis for whatever unity or continuity may be perceived in the early phases of the French Revolution. Although all his evidence points to this conclusion, it is not apt to be drawn by those who read Lefebvre's book, as the following citation suggests:

> . . . Georges Lefebvre distinguished four overlapping revolutions . . . without moving past 1789. Yet there is a rough kind of unity in the major changes of the early Revolution. That complex unity, in the last analysis, is probably best conveyed by the fabulous watchword: Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.
>
> One of the bases of this unity was surely the predominance of France's bourgeoisie in the events and reforms of the Revolution. There was continuity with the old regime in this respect. . . . The bourgeoisie (the observation is at least as old as Guizot) was gaining strength and self-awareness throughout the eighteenth century; the Revolution swiftly augmented that class's political power. As Marx would have it, the "feudal" class system was crumbling, and the "capitalist" class system arising from its dust. As Marx would also have it, the bourgeois were the principal agents and beneficiaries of the Revolution.[32]

As the author of this citation says, these are "unsubtle and largely commonplace generalities." To make them more subtle and esoteric, however, will not help clarify a necessary distinction between the groups who initiate a given course of action and those who ultimately may benefit from it. To locate agents by studying beneficiaries, to collect all the motives that might have led the latter to pursue the course of action that was, in fact, initiated by the former is at present an all too common way of dealing with revolutionary causation. Yet studying which groups presumably benefited from the French Revolution (a vexed question in itself)[33] is not really the

[31] To avoid misunderstanding, the qualification indicated by the term "in so far" should be underlined. There are many aspects to a revolution such as that of 1789 that Lefebvre deals with and my discussion has excluded. Throughout I have tried to isolate the problem of how to locate revolutionary initiative by examining who intervened in 1788–1789. Clarity and precision on this point seem to be required before undertaking any larger-scale analysis of other problems.

[32] Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 160.

[33] The sort of vexation that is involved is shown by Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1964), who distinguishes between "bourgeois"

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right way to go about finding out who started the Revolution or how it began. When a theory is contradicted by the data, one must change the theory, not brush aside the data. In this case the data relate to a specific course of action undertaken by particular individuals. It shows that "France's bourgeoisie" did *not* initiate the protest movement of 1788 and did *not* play a prominent role in the events and reforms of 1789. To analyze what was shared in common by the leaders who did play a prominent role, to ascertain the degree to which they achieved or failed to achieve the goals they had in mind (as subsequent events showed, these goals were by no means uniform) would carry us far beyond the limits of this paper. Suffice it to say that unanticipated consequences more often than not result from a given course of action that is not grounded on precedent or prolonged experience. Here, at least, the revolutionary action initiated in 1788 proved unexceptional. It is thus most unlikely that La Fayette envisaged riding beside a ragged procession of hungry and angry women marching to Versailles, leading a "massacre" on the Champs de Mars, or languishing in an Austrian prison; that Le Pelletier conceived of being coupled with Marat as a Jacobin martyr; that Hérault dreamed of serving with Robespierre on the Committee of Public Safety; Condorcet of dying as a Girondin prisoner; Sieyès of serving as a consul with Bonaparte, or Talleyrand (and La Fayette again!) more than four decades later, helping to oust D'Artois and install the son of D'Orléans on the French throne—to single out only a few of the subsequent roles played by only a few of the figures offered us.

None of the leaders of the patriot party could have anticipated the subsequent roles they would enact in the drama. But they nonetheless did, by wielding all the considerable power and influence at their disposal, help determine the conditions under which the drama would be played out. Purposeful action directed toward desired goals is one thing; unanticipated consequences resulting from this action are another. This obvious distinction has to be stressed, in order to avoid entanglement in the empty and endless debate over whether the Revolution was "spontaneous" or "planned," the product of "circumstances" or "plot." The debate is empty because it is invariably held over a grand design, incorporating the full sequence of events which only began to unfold in 1789. This design is visible only in retrospect. It could not be foreseen by any contemporaries. Hence it could not have been planned or devised by any of them. The debate is endless because the

landowners, *rentiers,* officials, professional men, and "bourgeois" capitalists, industrialists, financiers. His thesis is that the Revolution was made against capitalism by a "revolutionary bourgeoisie" threatened by its inroads. He thus attacks Lefebvre and Marxist historians, but appears equally persuaded that one may locate the agents of the Revolution by studying its beneficiaries.

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sequence of events has no stopping point. It is still spinning itself out and will always be differently concluded for and by each successive generation. It is worth noting that those who weave conspiratorial legends or employ the "thèse de complots" are just as prone to ignore the real men who formed and led the patriot party as are those who insist on spontaneous mass or class action. In both cases, efforts to fathom a grand design result in perpetually unsatisfactory answers to the more limited range of questions which anyone curious about the coming of the French Revolution might be expected to ask: Who intervened in the conflict between crown and nobles in 1788–1789? How did they do so and why? To learn, for example, that many leaders of the patriot party were Masons or that their correspondents in the provinces belonged to "reading societies" does not get us very far. Or, rather, it leads us much too far with hints that we must look beyond a loose political coalition based on informal groupings of like-minded notables, in search of an invisible network controlled by a hidden hand (the Duc d'Orléans?) or manipulated by Protestants, aliens, libertine aristocrats, and would-be philosopher-kings. On the other hand, to be told that these leaders must have been, if not members of the bourgeoisie, then its agents, symbols, or incarnations and to examine the social structure of this ascending class in order to understand the behavior of these leaders does not get us very far either—or takes us much too far also in search of statistics pertaining to capitalist enterprise, industrial development, and landownership patterns. In both instances we are asked to look around, over, beyond, above, or below rather than at the assorted individuals whose group action we are curious about. What we have tried to suggest in the foregoing discussion is that evidence relating to this group action, undertaken by known individuals, using known means, to exert continuous pressure toward known ends is contained in *The Coming of the French Revolution*. But a static framework derived from a structural analysis is incapable of containing this sort of dynamic group action. Instead it keeps apart, as socially stratified, the very cluster of men who gravitated together, mutually attracted by political goals that appeared to be within their reach. By artificially segmenting this continuous group action, by arbitrarily assigning revolutionary initiative first to the class-oriented activities of the aristocracy, then to those of the bourgeoisie, the author has, thus, almost smothered his evidence.

This critique is best concluded with a brief tribute to the book that provoked it. Lefebvre has provided his readers with a remarkably succinct account of an unusually snarled series of episodes. He has employed a clear-cut scheme to unsnarl these episodes and has successfully used this scheme

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to isolate the most critical ones. He has, in our view, been more successful in isolating "the point at which strictly speaking the Revolution of 1789 began" than in isolating the group who played a strategic role in determining this point. But his failure, in this regard, would not be perceptible had he employed a fuzzier scheme. Nor could it be perceived if he had not, in this short and semipopular book, illustrated his general statements by specific examples—naming names and citing evidence—without regard for whether his facts fitted his scheme but with a scrupulous regard for their pertinence to the episode being discussed. Few historians have both the daring and the caution that are required thus to lay bare all possible discrepancies in their work. But then few have mastered their difficult craft so successfully.

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★ ★ ★ ★ *Reviews of Books* ★ ★ ★ ★

General

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXX, 1961, including some publications of previous years. Edited with the contribution of the national committees by *Michel François* and *Nicolas Tolu* for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. [Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 467.)

I HAVE been critical of the immediately preceding volumes of this series on two grounds: they fail to recognize the American contribution to archival bibliography, and they give an inadequate picture of the present status of American historical scholarship by failing to note the contribution of American microfilm publication, that is, the texts of manuscripts on formally edited microfilm. These two weaknesses still exist, but I am pleased to note that the *Writings on American History, 1954,* is listed.

Volume XXX of the *IBOHS* contains 7,916 entries, as compared to 7,276 for 1960. It is highly selective, for over 14,000 entries were submitted by the national committees for consideration by the compilers. The increasing use of composite entries is to be applauded and might be carried further. Not all items relating to the American Civil War, for example, have been brought together.

It is to be hoped that the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which holds its triennial meeting in 1965 in Vienna, will revise the canons of selection to include microfilm publication of source materials.

This review ends, where it might have begun, with a tribute to Messrs. François and Tolu, who have, with this volume, completed twelve volumes of this series. Although the bibliography is produced under comfortable institutional auspices, the labor of compilation has largely devolved on these two individuals.

Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society LESTER W. SMITH

THE PROBLEMS OF CIVILIZATIONS: REPORT OF THE FIRST SYNOPSIS CONFERENCE OF THE S.I.E.C.C., SALZBURG, 8–15 OCTOBER, 1961. Edited by *Othmar F. Anderle.* [Publications of the International Society for the Comparative Study of Civilizations, Colloques, Number 1.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 460. Glds. 40.)

THE basic problems considered at this international scientific congress included the reality of civilizations, the meetings of civilizations, the problem of universal

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history, the future of civilizations, and the possible contributions of these studies to the peaceful unification of mankind. The two dozen delegates were chiefly from Western Europe and the United States, but included representatives from China and Japan. Their talks are here recorded in three languages, though those in German are followed by brief summaries in French, and vice versa.

Disagreements were both free and amicable, befitting a congress dedicated to promoting international understanding. Arnold Toynbee in particular spoke with a modesty not always apparent in his *Study of History*. But underlying the differences of opinion was a broad agreement that civilizations are "intelligible fields of study [in his words]," and in particular that comparative studies of them, and efforts at universal history, are urgently needed today. At the end Pitirim Sorokin, president of the society, remarked a more surprising outcome of the congress: that although the meetings went on for six days, six hours a day, the discussions grew more orderly and concentrated instead of petering out in fatigue.

Even so, workaday historians may find the atmosphere here rather rarefied, for example in the frequent talk of "holistic" approaches and the appearance of such terms as "ontological articulation." Others may find the discussions too bland or wish for sharper disagreements; a vigorous Marxist or so might have enlivened the proceedings. And there remains the obvious question: should the comparative study of civilizations properly be called "scientific"?

Nevertheless it seems to me that the congress amply demonstrated not only the possible value but the positive need of studying the problems of civilization, if only for a full understanding of any particular society or age. Specialists may be assured that these generalists are learned scholars and did not simply get lost in the blue. Speakers dwelt often enough on the difficulties of their vast subject, the dangers of hasty or grandiose generalization. If the discourse was more philosophical than scientific, it was informed by much good sense as well as good will. Hence it recalled the opposite danger of excessive skepticism over the possibilities of universal history and the tendency to shy away from fundamental questions that may smack of philosophy, but have to be dealt with somehow. Specifically, the congress called attention to such commonly neglected matters as the degree of integration in civilizations, the uniformities underlying their differences, the continuities of history, and the universal interests and needs that make it possible to speak of mankind and to retain some hope for the future of one world. Among other things the speakers were disengaging what is implicit in histories of technology, religion, art, and other such quite reputable studies.

There also remains the most obvious reason for the comparative study of civilizations: the impact of the West on the great Eastern societies. In dwelling on this, a Chinese delegate, B. J. Chu, remarked that while the West could afford a surplus of specialists, he believed that the underdeveloped countries had a particular need of more generalists. He also suggested a kind of study on which generalists and specialists might collaborate: a history of work, including the differences between traditional Western and Chinese attitudes toward work.

Indiana University HERBERT J. MULLER

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SOCIOLOGY AND HISTORY: THEORY AND RESEARCH. *Werner J. Cahnman* and *Alvin Boskoff*, Editors. ([New York:] Free Press of Glencoe. 1964. Pp. xix, 596. $9.95.)

A HUGE collaborative work, this book is designed to effect a "reunion" of the sciences of society and the study of history. Historians, often less than eager for a "rapprochement" with present-minded social analysts, view cybernetics and games theory with undisguised alarm. And those scientists—physical, natural, behavioral—who claim the universe as their own quantifiable preserve have done little to allay confusion. The spirit of E. H. Carr's remark that "the more sociological history becomes and the more historical sociology becomes, the better for both" has a wider pertinence. There is no cleavage between science and humanism. The present study makes a contribution to the irrelevance of controversy, for history is science as well as art, and all knowledge, including science, is humanistic. Data, whether brute or human, remain data, and the irrepressible drive of scholarship is to correlate them. Scholarship is mortal, and method is not its goal. Mathematical method differs from biological method, but genetics is more vital than the technical devices of either.

The framework of *Sociology and History* defines its purpose and suggests its scope. The first part is devoted to an evaluation of theories: progressive, evolutionary, cyclical; of Marx, Durkheim, Max Weber, Croce, and selected recent hypotheses of social change. Most of the volume exemplifies concept and method within certain historical areas: seven on feudalism in various societies; nine on empire, nationality, and religion; five on enterprise, labor, and social change; seven on political behavior and social structure; and four on the arts, literature, and science. One of the editors, W. J. Cahnman, summarizes, in an essay on civilization as a paradigm of social change, and the joint editors conclude as they began with irenic disquisitions on the similarities of research purposes.

Yet the monographic range and the methodological diversity are likely to stagger historians who still respond to social science as their forebears reacted to the new history. The essays cascade from first-century Roman kinship to twentieth-century entrepreneurship. They vault from Japanese capitalism to the Zwinglian Reformation in Zurich and to merchants in medieval London. But historical scholars who lament problem-oriented investigations will find little more to disturb them than the clichés of continuity. They themselves have rarely wearied of lecturing other specialists on the presence of the past in contemporary culture, and all save those who have ignored physics are conscious of the "intrusion" of the present in past re-creations.

The historian will find virtually every category of analysis indubitably his own. Issues explored are commonplaces of historical concern and craftmanship; many of the aims of method are equally familiar. The comparative device is older than Herodotus; the search for human motivation is more antique than Thucydides. And civilization as a hypothesis of inquiry is as recent as Charles A. Beard, who made it the spirit of the American quest as well as a paradigm of scholarly striving. Psychology, psychiatry, and cultural anthropology have already seeped into the historian's vocabulary, and the data, constantly mounting, have long been available for the historian's use. *Sociology and History* is a venture in analysis by scholars

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who are keenly aware that description, even of the unique, is also an analysis, an examination, an experiment, and a judgment.

Sarah Lawrence College BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

THE TRANSFER OF INSTITUTIONS. By *Daniel Lerner et al.* Edited by *William B. Hamilton.* [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, Publication Number 23.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1964. Pp. xii, 312. $8.00.)

DANIEL Lerner sets this book in motion with some challenging statements. The book's central concept—institutions—he defines in its opening sentence as "the behavioral patterns performed by people whose goal is to enhance as much as possible the values which they hold important." Leaving aside the question as to whether one performs patterns, can institutions in general really be described as patterns of living which enhance values as much as possible, or are they more frequently merely the way in which societies in their evolution have come to deal with their affairs? The final sentence of this opening paragraph redefines institutions as codes of rational, routine activity, and routine behavior is held to be rational when it conforms to a maximizing principle. That institutions are marked by routine behavior may be taken for granted, but what is the ground for assuming that they are rational in the sense of maximizing anything? If one turns, for example, to the concluding essay by M. Yudelman, dealing with problems of raising African agricultural productivity, are the established indigenous agricultural institutions to be regarded as maximizing something? If so, Yudelman gives no inkling of it. Or would the patterns of African agriculture not become institutions until the Africans adopt the maximizing practices of various kinds, which he sees as necessary if productivity is to be significantly raised?

Lerner also objects to the title of the book and proposes the substitution of "communication of codes" for "transfer of institutions." His reason appears in part to be that "transfer" suggests a peaceful and superficial process whereas what actually happens is always intrusive, often disruptive, and usually violent. The more serious issue is as to whether there is not more in the way of peaceful adjustment and adaptation, as the contributions of some of his fellow authors appear to suggest, than Lerner is prepared to concede, but I find it difficult to discern that "communication" embodies an immediate sense of disruption and violence of which "transfer" is barren.

The ten substantive papers that follow Lerner's introductory essay cover a wide range of countries and problems. Bert F. Hoselitz undertakes the interesting assignment of comparing conditions in Western and Central Europe during the nineteenth century with present-day Asia and Africa and concludes that the differences are so great, particularly in relation to the application of principles characteristic of scientific inquiry and theoretical generalization, as to make it very dubious that Western experience can be used as a guide for Asian and African development. Three papers by Robert I. Crane, Joseph W. Elder, and A. Gledhill deal with different aspects of the intrusion into India of Western education, industry, and law, while a fourth by Albert Mayer examines certain interrelation-

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ships of community development in India and in the United States. In addition to Yudelman's discussion of African agriculture, Frank T. de Vyver looks into the inadequacies of the transfer of trade-unionism in British Africa, and William E. Moran, Jr., deals with the impact of Western economic institutions on Africa, concluding that if Africa is not to be handed over to the Communists, the West must sympathetically assist in experimentation with economic forms remote from private enterprise. The two remaining papers by Alexander Brady and Richard A. Preston are concerned with the transfer to Canada of British constitutional and military institutions.

University of California, Los Angeles RUPERT EMERSON

STATE AND NATION. By *Benjamin Akzin*. [Politics.] (London: Hutchinson University Library; distrib. by Hillary House, New York. 1964. Pp. 214. $3.00.)

THIS is an interesting and useful study of a trite subject. The author lives in a region (Jerusalem) where the problem of the relations between "the political phenomenon of the State and the ethnic phenomenon of the nation" is acute, and he brings to bear upon his analysis personal experience in Europe and the United States and acquaintance with the scholarly and much of the propagandistic literature. As his first publication dealing with the issues dates back to 1929, the present work sums up a lifetime of experience and thought; the reader soon appreciates the clarity and succinctness of this judicious, practical analysis.

The author states his purpose as follows: "What we are concerned with . . . is neither a terminological debate nor a semantic refinement, but the very real complex of conflicts, of attempts at compromise and harmonization, and of mutual influences of two forces, the one political [the state], the other ethnic [the nation], when they meet with mankind as their common ground, actors and object." The excellence of the work lies in the portrayal of these two forces in a wide variety of situations, past and present, and his comparisons offer a taxonomy of the relations that will help the historian who is devoted to the study of state and nation of a particular time and place to check his assumptions and conclusions against the relation of these forces under similar and dissimilar conditions at other times and places. Students of American history may be surprised by the persuasive parallels drawn between the career of the two forces in this country and elsewhere; those in European history will be enlightened by the author's distinctions among the European phenomena; and throughout the work the reader, irrespective of national or regional specialization, will find the author's analysis of prestate and prenation situations invaluable in understanding the later stages of development. This fresh view of experience lends a sense of reality to the study. In lieu of better terminology he employs state, nation, nationality, nationalism, patriotism, and the like, but he does not leave the reader in the confusion of Western connotations. He supplies a wealth of exemplary detail, which gives the terms new meaning; in time and with more such studies we should be able to establish a logical conceptual structure appropriate to developing world-wide experience.

The one weakness in the study lies in the brevity with which the author dis-

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cusses the significance for nationalism of the change in social or cultural structure within the group itself. He offers enough evidence, however, for the reader to be able to draw his own conclusions about this relationship. We need more such studies in the methodological tradition of Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws*.

University of California, Los Angeles EUGENE N. ANDERSON

CONTRIBUTIONS À L'HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE. Volume I, 1962; Volume II, 1963. [Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.] (Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles, Institut de Sociologie. 1962; 1963. Pp. 188; 141.)

Conscious of the increasing interest in all aspects of economic and social history, the *Centre d'Histoire Économique et Social* of the University of Brussels has begun publication of this new journal to encourage further research in these areas of historical study. The editor indicates clearly that there is no intent to establish a new periodical and asserts that the *Contributions* will appear only when a sufficient number of studies are available and suitable for publication. The format of this new venture, however, is that characteristic of a journal, and these first two issues are limited to three articles each. The essays are obviously of greater length than those habitually encountered in historical periodicals. No attention is given to book reviews or other supplementary material. It is encouraging to note that the editor is anxious not only to publish essays written by historians of established reputation, but he desires also to provide room for the work of young scholars. Surely such a policy is to be lauded. Happily now here is one journal favorably inclined to examine seriously the writings of those who have but recently taken the doctorate and who are at the threshold of a career in scholarship.

The distinguished Belgian scholar Renée Doehaerd provides the initial essay for Volume I, where she analyzes with traditional competence a fifteenth-century document pertaining to the fishers from Wenduine, a community to the west of Bruges. A Flemish official was commanded by superiors to learn the nature of the "mijn et hostelage" in the village, to inquire about taxes levied on the fishermen and of other matters pertaining to their activities. For the same issue M. A. Arnould examines "L'incidence de l'impôt sur les finances d'un village à l'époque bourguignonne: Boussoit-sur-Haine, 1400–1555." Here fiscal autonomy was only momentarily enjoyed by the village; it was to be more and more subjected to princely control. The third essay is a somewhat technical treatment by R. Devleeshouwer of the significance of the introduction of the assignats in Belgium, 1794–1795.

In Volume II A. Vanrie writes on "Les Croix Banales aux abbayes en Belgique au moyen âge." Though handbooks and dictionaries fail to give accurate description of the *Croix,* the author finds the custom was introduced in Carolingian times largely to aid Benedictine monasteries. The processions of the faithful bearing gifts had for the regions affected also considerable social importance. They were a means of bringing people together. M. J. Tits-Dieuaide provides a highly specialized consideration of "La conversion des mesures anciennes en mesures métriques." This essay refers especially to measures used for grain between the

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fifteenth and nineteenth century in seven Belgian towns. For the concluding part of this issue Jean Dhondt furnishes a long essay concerning "Un militant Gantois de la première internationale." There is much here about spies and informers, with De Boos, the chief of all, to lend excitement to these pages. Equally important, however, are Dhondt's forthright statements of his own attitude toward the writing of history of the working-class movements. The first two issues of the *Contributions* are of such quality as to augur well for those to follow.

Northwestern University GRAY C. BOYCE

STRÖME UND MEERE IN GESCHICHTE UND GEGENWART: VORTRÄGE GEHALTEN AUF DER TAGUNG DER JOACHIM JUNGIUS-GESELLSCHAFT DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, HAMBURG, AM 31. OKTOBER UND 1. NOVEMBER 1963. [Veröffentlichung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Hamburg.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 126. DM 15.60.)

THESE lectures represent variations on a theme, presented by a number of scholars from different disciplines. The theme is the importance of rivers and open waters in past and present; the disciplines include law, physics, economics, and others. In the three historical papers, Professor Erich Otremba writes of the great rivers as determinants of historical development, recalling the hydraulic cultures of the Orient, and analyzing the river systems of the continents of the earth. Professor Eberhard Otto surveys the ancient cultures of the Nile Valley, with special emphasis on the impact of the annual cycle of the Nile on the early Egyptian polity and view of the world. Professor Egmont Zechlin, finally, has charted the diplomatic history of the Turkish Straits from the Napoleonic Wars to the Potsdam Conference in 1945.

Each of these papers is of interest in itself, although they are not primarily addressed to a professional audience. But they do not add up to more than scattered hints of the scope of this great theme, and the absence, in most cases, of bibliographic references reduces their usefulness as an introduction to the subject.

OECD Development Centre, Paris GORAN OHLIN

HISTORY AND JEWISH HISTORIANS: ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES. By *Salo W. Baron*. Compiled with a foreword by *Arthur Hertzberg* and *Leon A. Feldman*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1964. Pp. xviii, 504. $5.50.)

AMONG these essays and addresses by Professor Baron, culled from scattered, not readily available, journals and periodicals are: "Essays in Jewish History" ("World Dimensions of Jewish History," "Modern Capitalism and Jewish Fate," "Emphases in Jewish History"); "The Historical Outlook of Maimonides"; "Jewish Historians and Their Viewpoints" ("Azariah de' Rossi," "I. M. Jost the Historian," "Heinrich Graetz, 1817–1891: A Biographical Sketch" and "Graetz and Ranke: A Methodological Study"; "Moritz Steinschneider's Contributions to Jewish His-

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toriography"; "Levi Herzfeld: The First Jewish Economic Historian"); and a preface. In presenting the material the compilers hope to provide the reader with an account of Baron's theoretical views of history implicit in his writings and to further the understanding of his method and of his conception of Jewish history. They express the hope that several other such volumes of collected essays will follow.

The oldest article in the volume was written on the occasion of Graetz's hundredth anniversary in 1917 and was published the following year in Graetz's own *Monatsschrift*. It is Baron's contention that "in each of the changing ages and climes within which the Jews have lived, their history can be understood only as part of human history in general" and that it is not merely a history of martyrs and scholars. In agreement with Biblical tradition, however, Baron sees in the Jews a people whose messianic religion has made it the bearer of a universal message, thus destined to live primarily in the dimension of time rather than in that of space. Taken as a whole, the Jewish people, retaining its spiritual and communal identity in changing ages and places, is "the harbinger of the human future, when all identities will be historical rather than geographical." The influence of Nachman Krochmal is noticeable. "Just as world history can no longer be written, as it used to be, principally in terms of the western evolution, so has Jewish historiography begun gradually to abandon its exclusive concentration on the traditionally narrow geographic areas in Europe and the adjoining Mediterranean lands."

The compilers deserve recognition for their labor in gathering and arranging the reprints. The very substantial scholarly apparatus has been retained, and the book makes interesting, highly informative, reading.

Texas Christian University H. L. Poppers

HISTORYCY O HISTORII: OD ADAMA NARUSZEWICZA DO STANISŁAWA KĘTRZYŃSKIEGO, 1775–1918 [Historians on History: From Adam Naruszewicz to Stanisław Kętrzyński, 1775–1918]. Edited by *Marian Henryk Serejski*. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1963. Pp. 665. Zł. 80.)

The editor of the present volume, a specialist on Polish historiography and the author of a university textbook on the subject (1954–56), has here collected an anthology of writings by Polish historians devoted to methodology and the general view of the function of history. "[In selecting,]" he says in the introduction, "we have limited ourselves deliberately to our central theme, which is the development of the methodological awareness of our historians—the evolution of their views on the science of events, not on the events as such." His intention is to provide a Polish counterpart of Fritz Stern's *The Varieties of History* and Hans Meyerhoff's *The Philosophy of History in Our Time*.

The difficulty in preparing an anthology of this kind in Polish derives from the fact that during the period which it covers, Poland was occupied by three foreign powers, and all thought, historical thought included, was in some way concerned

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with the nation's present and future. For this reason, in the case of Polish historians of the partition era, it is virtually impossible to separate views on the "science of events" from views on the "events as such." Even in the second half of the nineteenth century, when Polish historiography was dominated by professionals who rejected nationalism and romantizations of the past, the issues tended to revolve around the problem of the nation's destiny. The historians of the so-called Cracow School (J. Szujski, M. Bobrzyński, and others), exponents of a strictly "scientific" approach to history, were understood to hold a pessimistic view of Poland, while their opponents at the Universities of Lemberg and Warsaw were seen as "optimists."

Serejski divides his material into three parts. The first embraces the period from 1775 to approximately 1860 and includes both the Enlightenment and romanticism. The second part covers the last four decades of the nineteenth century, the era of "Positivism." The third part (1900–1917) deals with the reaction against Positivism and the search for new methods of synthetic or comparative, sociologically oriented historiography. The materials presented confirm the editor's assertion that Polish historical thought faithfully reflected the main currents of historicism in Western Europe. The editor is less convincing in his efforts to link historical views with class interests—a procedure that accounts for his lumping in one category the enlighteners and romantics as exponents of a feudal, prebourgeois class structure. But he does not press this point. The materials cited, often from rare sources, and the introductions and bibliographies prepared by the editor make this volume a welcome addition to the literature on the historians' conception of their craft.

Harvard University RICHARD PIPES

THE CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *H. Daniel-Rops*. Translated from the French by *John Warrington*. [History of the Church of Christ, Volume VII.] (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1964. Pp. ix, 373. $10.00.)

WHILE designed as a popular introduction, this useful manual accurately reflects its author's qualities: solid, well-informed, and balanced facts and interpretations reveal the professional historian; literary brilliance and color mark the style of an authentic member of the *Académie française;* depth and intensity of fervor illuminate the faith of a devout Catholic believer. The English translation, alas, is a pale and imperfect version of the original.

One of the book's major themes is the struggle between the rationalism of the Enlightenment and the traditional religiosity of Roman Catholicism. Characteristically the author's sympathies are all with the latter as opposed to what he calls "the satanic revolt of the intellect." Another is the inimical action of those forces (Gallicanism, Jansenism, Febronianism, Josephism) that sapped the Church from within and buffeted it from without during the century. A third is that despite evidence of weakness the Catholic faith was still extraordinarily vital on the eve of the Revolution.

Europe holds the center of attention, but Asia, Africa, and the Americas are

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included as missionary fields. Though Roman Catholicism is stressed throughout, various Orthodox and Protestant groups are treated, the Quakers and Methodists with special sympathy.

University of Florida DAVID L. DOWD

OVERTURES TO BIOLOGY: THE SPECULATIONS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NATURALISTS. By *Philip C. Ritterbush*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 287. $7.50.)

THE present volume falls into two main parts, only loosely knit together into a book. The first part is a history of the abortive eighteenth-century endeavors to invoke ether or electricity as a motive force in organisms. The author ineptly chooses to call this the concept of "immanence," with all of the perplexing and irrelevant connotations of that highly metaphysical term. To retain a firm grip on the argument, the reader must continually remind himself that the only thing the author has consistently in mind is belief in widely diffused "subtle fluids" capable of animating organisms. The crucial episode is, of course, the elaboration of the doctrine of "animal electricity" by Galvani and the refutation of this by Volta. The story is familiar and does not gain in resonance from the context in which Mr. Ritterbush endeavors to place it.

The strength of the book lies in a group of three essays on the insistent analogizing between plants and animals by eighteenth-century naturalists and the eventual revulsion at the beginning of the nineteenth century from untethered speculations of this kind. Ritterbush shows how delusive these analogies could be in stimulating grandiose conceptions of a full-blown Harveian circulatory system in plants. In his most interesting single contribution, however, he argues persuasively that recognition of the sexuality of plants in the eighteenth century may well have profited from the identical impulse to assimilate plants to animals. He rightly emphasizes the qualification that receptivity to the general idea on these grounds could foster indifference to the details by which fertilization in plants is distinguished from fertilization in animals, with complacent resort to mere analogies to fill the gaps in empirical knowledge.

This useful book is marred by an undiscriminating encyclopedic quality, with the passing views of inconsequential figures huddled together with more important things and no overriding sense of proportion. At least twice the author falls into one of the worst blunders that a historian of science can commit: hindsighted contempt for the ignorance of past investigators. Vaillant "should not have expected" something to happen that we know (but he did not) could never happen. Linnaeus was guilty of an "outrageous" assumption of something that *we* know to be impossible. The bibliography is unnecessarily long, but omits works as fundamental for the author's theme as Aram Vartanian's *Diderot and Descartes* and Conway Zirkle's *The Beginnings of Plant Hybridization*.

Harvard University DONALD FLEMING

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CASTLEREAGH AND ADAMS: ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, 1812–1823. By *Bradford Perkins*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 364. $7.95.)

ALTHOUGH Anglo-American relations in the years between the Treaty of Ghent and the Monroe Doctrine were dominated, as the title of this book indicates, by the personalities and basic good intentions of two strong men, there were many factors interacting with each other to give Adams and Castlereagh material on which and with which to work. Again as in the earlier volumes of this trilogy, Professor Perkins has given us diplomatic history in such depth that it becomes history with no qualifying adjective.

The long-drawn-out negotiations for an honorable settlement of the War of 1812 take on new meaning in these pages because in effect we get inside the minds of the two groups of negotiators, without ever losing sight of the economic, cultural, and nationalistic forces that were pressing hard to influence the outcome in both countries. Fittingly, the war that neither side wanted ended in a return to the *status quo* with the real causes still unresolved. Yet there was a difference, tacitly recognized by London and Washington alike: the United States had at last, in British eyes as in its own, achieved its independence. Relations between the two countries would thereafter be guided by the shared conviction that each was necessary to the other. On such a basis it was possible for men who wanted peace, commerce, and honest friendship to settle all outstanding problems, although the ultimate resolution of some of them, such as the Maine and Oregon boundaries, fall outside the time limit of this book. Even Jackson's summary execution of two stray Englishmen in Florida could be, and was, brushed off without massive anger. There would be points of disagreement, sometimes violent, down to our own time, but the habit of peaceful settlement had been established by 1823.

The story of England and the United States through this critical decade is told with insight and understanding and a leavening of humor, in a dynamic, flowing style that makes even the most exacting scholarship a delight to read. *Castlereagh and Adams* adds stature to the already considerable achievement of *Prologue to War* and *The First Rapprochement*. Not least among Perkins' contributions is his pioneering use of a genre of historical writing that may of itself help to smooth the path of diplomacy by its candor, its fairness, its insistence upon exposing both sides of the dialogue. May we not hope that at some future date there will be similar multidimensional studies of the times of Palmerston and Polk, of Roosevelt and Churchill?

Washington, D. C. CHARLES M. WILTSE

RUSSIA'S HAWAIIAN ADVENTURE, 1815–1817. By *Richard A. Pierce*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 245. $5.50.)

THIS collection of documents, originally transcribed in St. Petersburg by the French ethnologist Alphonse Pinart and now in the Bancroft Library, is of interest to students of both Pacific and Russian history.

Professor Pierce has performed his editorial tasks conscientiously and makes

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available to the reader much useful and pertinent information. He is particularly complete in identifying Americans mentioned in his book. Russians are identified less satisfactorily, Governor F. O. Paulucci of Riga, a fascinating and important figure, even being referred to in three different places as "Paukuchcha." Such misreadings are, however, rare, and the documents are not only informative but also often highly entertaining. Above all, they tell the story of Georg Anton Schäffer, a German doctor in Russian service who was sent to Hawaii in 1815 to obtain compensation for the seizing and plundering of a Russian ship wrecked on the beach of Kauai. Schäffer exceeded his instructions and for a time worked to establish a Russian colony in the mid-Pacific, but soon met with local setbacks and was disavowed by the main office of the Russian-American Company. The documents provide colorful detail about Hawaiian conditions early in the nineteenth century. They also show how difficult it was for St. Petersburg to obtain accurate information about and to control the activities of its agents in the Pacific. By early 1818 St. Petersburg had learned several lessons in Hawaiian politics and then acted to correct Schäffer's mistakes. The entire episode is an excellent case study in Russian bureaucratic history.

Pennsylvania State University EDWARD C. THADEN

FOR HUMANITY'S SAKE: THE STORY OF THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES. By *Clyde E. Buckingham.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 206. $5.00.)

ONE of the more striking developments in the Western world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was the growth of voluntary philanthropic organizations supporting a wide variety of humanitarian purposes. Among these were the various national Red Cross organizations. The American Red Cross, founded in 1881, pioneered in the development of disaster relief both at home and abroad and enjoyed a steady but unspectacular development before World War I. The organization was transformed, however, by the demands of that conflict. Membership soared to more than 20,000,000 adults and 8,000,000 juniors, and wartime contributions mounted to more than $280,000,000. The end of the European conflict raised the question of whether this humanitarian organization should be demobilized along with other wartime enterprises.

The ARC's wartime head, financier Henry P. Davison, said "no" and proposed the formation of a League of Red Cross Societies to attack the massive health and relief problems of prostrate Europe. He envisioned a kind of humanitarian counterpart to the proposed League of Nations. With the approval of Woodrow Wilson, Davison pushed the organization of the new group at Cannes in April 1919. Dr. Buckingham's book chronicles the conception, birth, and early years of the new organization through the deaths of Davison and the league's first director-general, Sir David Henderson, in 1922.

Davison's "golden vision" was not to be realized, however, for the newly founded league proved incapable of leading the postwar assault on European relief problems. The needs were clearly beyond the resources of voluntary organi-

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zations, and governments were reluctant to relinquish control over the material aid they offered. At the same time, the League of Red Cross Societies was not always able to win the wholehearted support of national societies, including the American group whose resources were limited and whose conceptions of its own functions contracted as America slipped into post-World War I isolationism. By 1922 the league was established, but with considerably more modest functions than its founders had envisioned. Its chief role was to coordinate and encourage national groups rather than lead massive relief programs.

Buckingham has written what is essentially a piece of administrative history; his focus is always on the organization of the league and changing conceptions of its functions. The results are for the most part disappointing. If the book is generally smoothly written, it is also too long; there are too many lengthy quotations of interest only to readers fascinated by the rhetoric of humanitarianism. The author's approach is that of the chronicler rather than the analyst; only occasionally does he clarify issues and point up the problems that forced a radical reorientation of the league's function. The book's perspective is narrow, too, in part because of the author's heavy dependence on the Davison Papers and the American Red Cross archives. Yet despite the use of the Davison Papers there are no clear picture of Davison himself and no sophisticated analysis of his total role in the formation of the league. What we have, then, are some valuable source materials in a book that will be of interest primarily to specialists in the history of the Red Cross and of Western philanthropy. There are reasonably adequate footnotes and an incomplete and unanalytic index.

State University of New York, Albany KENDALL BIRR

DIE DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHEN BEZIEHUNGEN IN DER ÄRA STRESEMANN. By *Robert Gottwald*. [Studien zur europäischen Geschichte aus dem Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, Number 6.] (Berlin-Dahlem: Colloquium Verlag. 1965. Pp. 167. DM 18.)

UNDERTAKEN at the suggestion of his adviser at the Free University of Berlin, Professor Hans Herzfeld, this study of German-American relations in the era of Stresemann by Mr. Gottwald of St. Antony's College, Oxford, concerns not only the diplomatic relations between the two countries from 1923 to 1929, which previously has been neglected in historical research by both countries, but also the changing image of Germany in the public opinion of the United States as reflected in the American press. It is an original contribution to the study of diplomatic relations as well as to the history of American ideas of Germany between the wars.

In the introduction the author establishes the factors contributing to the development of German-American relations and the American image of Germany at the turn of the year 1924–1925: the role of war propaganda and the emergence of revisionist historical writing and pertinent publications. Then he examines critically two unpublished dissertations (Edward J. Berbusse, S. J., "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Weimar Germany, 1919–1929," and Klaus Schoenthal, "American Attitudes towards Germany, 1918–

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1932) and a book (Dieter Bruno Gescher, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und die Reparationen, 1920–1924*) concerned with his theme and written since 1945. He then draws attention to the richer and more comprehensive sources which have since become available and on which his study is chiefly based: the microfilm publication of the documents of the German embassy in the United States for the years 1925–1929 and other German Foreign Office files, the unpublished reports of the American embassy in Germany during the period 1925–1929 and other records of the US Department of State at the National Archives, and materials in the Hoover Library. In conclusion he points out that, contrary to all previous presentations, his work emphasizes the political, rather than the economic, side of the relations while, at the same time, it does not lose sight of the development of American public opinion.

From this study as well as from historical events, a number of key developments vital to his theme emerged. These developments, each of which forms a chapter, are: the death of Friedrich Ebert, the election of Hindenburg, the Locarno Treaty, the German-Russian Berlin Treaty, the Stresemann-Briand talks at Thoiry, the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the specific role of Germany in relation to it, and the "Stresemann Regime." Each development is analyzed and described at the diplomatic level from the above-cited documents; at the public opinion level from the press (*Literary Digest* and eight other major journals and newspapers), thus producing from both sources the image of German-American relations in the years from Locarno to the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Within this study are interspersed critical considerations by the author of the nature of public opinion, of the problem of journalistic distortion of history, of the illusion that economics can be separated from politics, of the meaning of isolationism, and of the American image of Stresemann.

Gottwald has produced a dissertation, sound in scholarship, rich in content, skillful in exposition, exciting and informative to read, which is a first-class contribution to the history of German-American relations and essential to specialists.

University of California, Santa Barbara HENRY M. ADAMS

THE UNITED STATES AND THE ITALO–ETHIOPIAN CRISIS. By *Brice Harris, Jr.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 187. $5.50.)

THE author of this compact monograph accepted a difficult assignment. He undertook to assay the role of the United States in the Italo-Ethiopian War and to judge which parties were responsible for losing a splendid opportunity to halt the most formidable wave of aggression in recent history. In the course of his task, Professor Harris sifted an excess of manuscript and published evidence found in domestic and overseas repositories. His work has been especially fruitful in the American and Italian archives which, unlike those of Britain and France, are open to the students of the period.

Such impressive research has yielded some keen insights and has brought to life many forgotten items, but the familiar outlines of the story remain intact. At a time when firm action would have been most appropriate, Great Britain and

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France hovered between support of collective security and a deal with Mussolini. In the end, Ethiopia was conquered, the League suffered irreparable harm, and *Il Duce* formed a dangerous alliance with Hitler. On this side of the Atlantic, the Roosevelt administration strained its isolationist tether by trying to cooperate with League sanctions and goading Geneva to increased efforts. But Roosevelt was never given the entire opportunity to fulfill his promises of concordant action with the League for events abroad checkmated his desire for a vigorous European effort against Italy. After the Hoare-Laval debacle, the League powers failed to come up with a feasible plan to halt the Italian dictator. While London and Paris dawdled, the Fascist victory in East Africa made the question academic.

Harris does not specifically adjudicate the responsibility for the huge diplomatic blunders that started Europe on the road to World War II. Yet he implies that the United States bears far less guilt than the other peace-loving nations, particularly Britain. Roosevelt and Hull are commended for the limited steps that they took against Italy and for their repeated assurances that they would find means of denying American oil to *Il Duce* should the League add that vital commodity to the list of sanctions. Stronger White House measures would have precipitated a clash with the congressional isolationists, furnished the GOP with political ammunition, and jeopardized the administration's domestic program.

The Tory government in London is viewed as particularly culpable. The British never seriously contemplated closing the Suez Canal to Italian shipping or imposing a naval blockade to check the aggression. These actions would not have required positive American cooperation. But London preferred sanctions on oil to these bolder steps because they entailed less risk of shooting, but even here the Tories went ahead halfheartedly. On the basis of his study of the official press, Harris is convinced that England shied away from strong action far less from fear of American noncooperation than from dread of Italian retaliation.

England's vacillations seem difficult to comprehend because there both popular opinion and the political opposition favored stronger support of the League. While the book evaluates the American factors that gave rise to European apprehensions for Roosevelt's promises, we are led to believe that Mussolini's gamble succeeded because of European trepidation rather than America's self-centered diplomacy.

Inasmuch as few writers have focused upon Washington's relation to the Ethiopian muddle, the author has filled an important gap in the chronicle of the 1930's. The narrative is cleverly organized, well documented, and easily readable. Though it contains few startling revelations, the study illuminates a vital chapter in the background of World War II.

State University of New York, Buffalo SELIG ADLER

HOSTILE ALLIES: FDR AND CHARLES DE GAULLE. By *Milton Viorst*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. viii, 280. $6.95.)

THIS is a highly partisan book. This judgment is not meant in any pejorative sense, but it describes Mr. Viorst's attitude. For him, the French policy of the United States was a fault and a folly almost from the beginning. The failure to estimate De Gaulle at his true importance was unforgivable, and the obstinacy

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with which FDR clung to his illusions and prejudices was worse than his original adoption of them. This is a case that has been made before, and few but the most devoted admirers of FDR would put his French policy at the top of his successes. It may be, as Viorst hints, that some of the present difficulties in Franco-American relations have their roots in De Gaulle's justified resentments formed in 1940–1945. But even if De Gaulle had not made his successful return from Elba, the difference in policy, degenerating into an ugly squabble, would deserve examination, if only as a study of FDR's limitations.

First of all, does Viorst tell us much that is new? The novelty of the book is mainly in its organization of known facts. Viorst has worked hard and intelligently; he has unearthed and stressed unknown or neglected aspects of American policy or the role of American actors like Sumner Welles, and his narrative is clear and moves at an attractively rapid pace. But Viorst's method has its limitations. Nowhere is there an adequate exposition of the original reasons for the attitude of the Roosevelt administration to the problems presented by the fall of France and the simultaneous appearance of such unforeseen phenomena as "Vichy" and "Gaullism." Not enough allowance is made for the fortunes of war. The French problem—seen simply as a duel between De Gaulle and Roosevelt, with occasional interventions by Churchill—is more manageable than the complicated tangle of issues, policies, and guesses, a situation of which no one was a master, although both Churchill and De Gaulle were more far-sighted and more above the battle than was Roosevelt. Viorst's partisanship (I share his bias) leads him to be unjust to Frenchmen like Lemaigre-Dubreuil and De Lattre de Tassigny. Until the occupation of the "free zone," the duties of a patriotic Frenchman were not obvious to all men in the same way.

It was evident to the men on the spot that, by the early summer of 1943, the coming man was De Gaulle. Americans who were "there" (including those in London and Algiers) realized the relevance of the old political maxim, "you can't beat somebody with nobody," and everybody was nobody compared with De Gaulle. What was evident in Algiers was hidden in Washington. (The American who comes out best is General Eisenhower.) But the President got much bad advice in Washington; he also got, or could have got, good advice in Washington. The State Department in Washington, Vichy, and London was not a monolith, but the dissidents were ignored. In the end the only believers in the Roosevelt policy were FDR and a few die-hards. Hull, Leahy, and Clark were reconciled to the facts of French life; Roosevelt never was. Thus, in a sense, Viorst has been justified in making his story one of a duel between two great men. And in this narrow field, De Gaulle inevitably comes off best. He had a one-track mind, which was an occasional handicap but was also his basic strength.

There are many "ténébreuses affaires" in the story that neither Viorst nor anyone else can, at the moment, clear up. There are Saint-Pierre and Miquelon and the strange career of Admiral Muselier. It is probable, for instance, that Robert Murphy knows more than he has said in his admirable apologia. Viorst also occasionally misses points that would strengthen his argument. But this is an able and enlightening brief for the prosecution and is a real contribution to

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our understanding of an American mistake that might have been worse than a mistake.

Cambridge, England D. W. Brogan

LE MONDE CONTEMPORAIN, 1945–1963. By *Marcel Pacaut* and *Paul M. Bouju*. With the collaboration of *Serge Adour et al.* [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 295. 21 fr.)

This very compact survey is one of the volumes in the as yet incomplete series of "Collection U" on contemporary history. Professors Pacaut and Bouju have teamed up with a number of specialists to bring together this very useful compendium. It is written primarily for students preparing for entry into the *grandes écoles,* St. Cyr, and the advanced institutes of political science.

The slender volume is an interesting attempt at combining a mass of encyclopedic facts with some analysis of underlying developments, but its primary value lies with the former effort. The book is divided into twelve chapters of which the first four deal with basic currents, the second four with international problems, and the remainder with the evolution of the major powers since World War II. Probably its greatest value derives from a wealth of tables and other statistical data and the bibliographies, mainly French titles or translations, at the end of each chapter.

The first chapter contains a section on demographic and scientific data. The second deals with basic economic factors and international organizations; there is also a short summary on foreign aid programs. Chapter III briefly surveys ideological and religious currents. Its most interesting comments are a mild criticism of Pius XII and praise for the "bonhommie" of John XXIII. Most other religions are barely mentioned, but brief reference is made to existentialism. Some space is given to Marxism-Leninism, but there is almost nothing on revisionism and polycentrism. There are a few references to the postwar evolution of social democracy. The little section on liberalism is unfortunately entirely inadequate; that on nationalism in developing countries is more satisfactory. The chapter on contemporary political regimes has a few interesting observations such as the trend toward "depolitization" in Western Europe. The section on presidential regimes includes the US but not France. The latter is treated separately and more fully than other regimes.

The second part deals with international relations. J. F. Dulles is criticized for his alleged "manicheism without nuances," but there are words of praise for MacArthur. The section on "Co-existence and Crises" contains a summary on NATO and an objective account of the Suez crisis. It also has a good summary on the merging states, but is less satisfactory on European integration. The part on East-West relations includes some reference to nuclear weapons and strategic theories. The Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty is characterized as "more symbolic than effective." The Cuban crisis and its solution are termed "a clear success for the US," but the summation lacks an analysis of consequences.

The last part comprises brief accounts of individual countries. The detailed

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treatment of the Fifth Republic raises the intriguing question as to its fate after De Gaulle. There are a rather well-informed sketch on domestic conditions in the US and an ambiguous reference to the death of President Kennedy "in the South hostile to his antiracial policy." The book ends with a rather detailed section on the USSR and its evolution under Khrushchev and a cursory overview of Red China to 1963.

While the volume lacks the analytical depth of such books as D. W. Crowley's *Background to Current Affairs* and contains a few factual errors, it is an important reference manual useful to academic libraries and to students of contemporary history.

American University F. Gunther Eyck

Ancient and Medieval

THE ART OF WARFARE IN BIBLICAL LANDS IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY. In two volumes. By *Yigael Yadin*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1963. Pp. 245; 247–484. $25.00 the set.)

This work surveys military equipment and tactics in Turkey, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt from prehistoric times to 587 B.C. The first volume contains 114 pages of text with many line drawings, and about 130 pages of plates, mostly in color, with sizable explanatory notes; in the second volume are some 82 pages of text and about 134 of plates. There is a bibliography of about 250 entries, with further works cited in the 13-page list of "Sources for Illustrations," which also provides information to supplement the explanatory notes. There are no notes or indexes to the text, and a 2-page index to the plates is woefully incomplete. These economies in scholarly desiderata are balanced by conspicuous expense on things likely to boost popular sales: luxurious binding, fine paper, handsome printing, and lavish use of color, even where it obscures the material. The important Assyrian reliefs have been printed in such gorgeous pinks, browns, and purples that most are badly blurred and some are practically illegible. However, many photographs of minor objects are beautifully clear, and there are some brilliant landscapes. All in all the work offers a good, chronologically arranged collection of photographs of weapons, armor, chariots, fortifications, battle scenes, and so forth, from the countries and years covered.

The qualities of the text are similar to those of the plates. We get a clear account of the principal weapons and their use, and the development of armor, fortification, and tactics during the periods concerned. The account is based chiefly on archaeological remains; textual material, except from the Bible, is used only occasionally and then without specific references to the sources. Some of the theories are dubious, and occasional statements slip into the absurd. There is little mention of the less obvious aspects of military history. Contemporary Greek material is not considered. There are a few omissions even within the areas covered and a sprinkling of small errors in description and argument. But, with these limitations, the account is adequate and clear.

To add color or sales appeal, it has been Biblicized. The areas are "Biblical

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Lands" (though Palestine is the least of them). Among the periods are "the period before Abraham" and "the period of the Patriarchs" (though the dates given for these periods do not fit the Biblical dates for the patriarchs, and those legendary worthies, whenever they did live, were of no importance for military history). Finally, there is much discussion of Biblical battles and of the Israelite military establishment, and much of this is absurd. Thus, for the military establishment, the report of a census that numbered 1,300,000 Israelite warriors in David's kingdom (*ergo,* an Israelite population of about 6,000,000) is presented as a reliable historical document. Of II Chron. 26:8–15, which credits the tiny, rump kingdom of Judah with an army of over 300,000 (*ergo,* a population of over 1,000,000), it is said, "archaeological excavations have shown that the whole section is historically accurate." For the battles, most of which, according to the Bible, were won by miracles, Yadin simply invents rationalistic explanations of how the Israelites could have won and presents these as what they did do. A chapter on "The Military Tactics of the Deity" or "Miracle, the Ultimate Weapon" would have had more historical value; it would have given a better account of the content of the Biblical legends and have shown a better understanding of their literary genre and historical utility.

There are many errors of translation and grammar that reflect no credit on the editorial standards of the publishers.

Columbia University MORTON SMITH

WELVAART IN WORDING: SOCIAAL-ECONOMISCHE GESCHIEDENIS VAN NEDERLAND VAN DE VROEGSTE TIJDEN TOT HET EINDE VAN DE MIDDELEEUWEN. By *W. Jappe Alberts* and *H. P. H. Jansen.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. vi, 304. Glds. 16.50.)

PROFESSOR Jappe Alberts and Dr. Jansen are in the great tradition of Dutch economic historians; they treat their subject with all the authority such a long tradition confers, as well as from the new perspectives associated with the names of S. J. Fockema Andreae and B. H. Slicher van Bath, whose studies of land usage have changed both the picture of the Netherlands Middle Ages and the method by which that history is studied. This book—the word "welvaart" in the title carries the old connotations of "commonwealth" rather than the new ones of "welfare"—deals with the economic geography of the Netherlands from prehistoric times to the High Middle Ages, stopping just short of embroilment in the difficult question of late fifteenth-century culture in the area.

To such a complicated and varied subject, for which the data are necessarily uneven, it is difficult to do justice; the authors have produced a readable, sensible, and thorough account of the aspects of agriculture, trade, and crafts, as practiced over a very long period and in an area made up of very different geographical and political ecologies. They have synthesized from such primary sources as are in print and from the mass of monographic work, with admirable continuity, balance, and clarity. They deal intelligently with the differences and relations between town and country, increasingly complex as time passed and documentary data increased; they consider, with some skepticism, such demographic evidence as is

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available. Wherever relevant, they have dealt with international relations, especially well in the case of trade relations with the Hanse towns.

Naturally, there is an abundance of material both on drainage—crucial for the development of the dairy industry and decisive in the survival of the Westland—and on waterways. The political implications of "new land," illuminated by Fockema Andreae's studies, is integrated into the narrative here. To moderns accustomed to regard the estuarial Rhine as *Datum geographicum* and the Ijssel as a latecomer in Dutch commercial significance, Chapters IX and X will give instructive correction.

The chief value of this book lies in its extraordinary synthesis of so much peculiarly refractory and fragmentary detail into an interpretation relying for its originality chiefly on the monographic contributions of scholars working in far smaller areas. (It is only fair to say, of course, that Alberts himself is one of those monographic contributors of great originality, on whose work the book draws.) As a survey of Dutch economic history in the Middle Ages, this book would be difficult to better.

University of Iowa R. L. COLIE

HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE DE GENÈVE: DES ORIGINES AU DÉBUT DU XVI^e SIÈCLE. In two volumes. By *Anthony Babel.* (Geneva: Alexandre Jullien, Éditeur. 1963. Pp. xiii, 709; 807. 75 fr. S. the set.)

A MASSIVE work of painstaking erudition has come to fill—one might almost say to stuff—a large gap in the history of Geneva. M. Babel, retired professor of economic history at the University of Geneva, promises this as the first installment of a project to continue the economic history of Geneva through the period of the independent republic, which extends from Calvin to Rousseau, and then into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. If the present volumes, totaling over 1,500 pages including 93 pages of indexes, are an accurate indication of his plans, this will indeed be an *œuvre de longue haleine.* Babel's dimensions are staggering: from the pre-Paleolithic period to the Romans requires 2 books and 31 chapters; from the Romans to the eleventh-century urban revival requires 2 books and 40 chapters; from the urban revival to Genevan independence in 1536 requires only 1 book subdivided into 14 parts totaling 117 chapters and just over 1,000 printed pages. The variety of subjects treated in these volumes is, naturally, enormous: Neolithic flora and fauna; pre-Roman metallurgy and ceramics; Roman coinage; the origins of Genevan feudalism; "Industry from the 5th to the 11th Century"; medieval public hygiene; castles; feudal tolls and levies; agriculture; servants, beggars, and prostitutes (a chapter on each); bridges and ferries on nearby rivers; medieval coins, weights, and measures; tables on medieval prices.

The work is an indispensable reference for anyone interested in the history of Geneva. But it is not an indispensable reference for anyone interested in medieval economic history, which is what most of the information is about. There is not a single map, and though there are dozens of tables, there are no charts or graphs. There is an odd tendency to divide economic history along political lines. Why, for example, should this work stop in 1536, which was a less important date in

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Genevan economic history than 1462, when Louis XI struck his most telling blow against Geneva's famous fairs, or 1557, when Geneva's first craft guild was established and its printing industry began to acquire European fame? Perhaps the work's greatest deficiency is that it betrays a total inability to distinguish a compilation from a work of synthesis. The author has given us an excellent compilation. But in comparing his work with that of his successor, Jean-François Bergier's *Genève et l'économie européenne de la Renaissance* (1963), one notices where Babel has failed to draw the necessary conclusions from his information. In one short section Bergier points up the relative insignificance of industrial production in medieval Geneva—a subject that Babel discusses for twenty-eight pages—and suggests the connection between this and the absence of craft guilds in medieval Geneva—a subject that Babel discusses for eighteen pages. Some of Babel's most interesting information is drawn from Bergier's researches, which, as Babel frankly admits, "will bring to bear many new points of view on the connections between Geneva and the general European economy."

Northwestern University E. William Monter

ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA: PORTRAIT OF A DEAD CIVILIZATION. By *A. Leo Oppenheim.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 433. $8.50.)

GREECE IN THE BRONZE AGE. By *Emily Vermeule.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 406, 48 plates. $10.00.)

Both these books are very welcome additions to the list of nonspecialized studies in the field of ancient history. *Ancient Mesopotamia* is described by its author as a selective and individual portrait of the civilization of Old Babylonia and Assyria. It excludes consideration of Sumerian civilization and the Sumerian legacy to Mesopotamian culture. *Greece in the Bronze Age* is a synthesis of the development of civilization on the Greek mainland (Helladic) from the beginning of the New Stone Age, about 6500 B.C., to the breakdown of the Mycenaean kingdoms in the twelfth century. It is concerned largely with Mycenaean civilization and excludes the developments on Crete (Minoan) per se. The books are sound and sophisticated in scholarship, provided with useful chronological tables, bibliographical notes for their separate chapters, and good indexes. They are well illustrated—*Greece in the Bronze Age* lavishly so, with fifty-two figures in the text and forty-eight plates. The maps, however, in *Ancient Mesopotamia* are difficult to use, for the place names on them are located by number. It is necessary to run the eye down a nonalphabetical and lengthy key to check number and name, then turn back to the map. The books will be particularly useful to the advanced student and to the teacher, but perhaps rather difficult for the reader with a general historical interest. Oppenheim apparently experienced some difficulty in accommodating his highly specialized knowledge (he is director of the Assyrian dictionary project at the Oriental Institute in Chicago) to the needs of generalization and has written with some involvement in thought and expression. Vermeule, on the other hand, writes with enjoyable, sometimes too contrived, verve, but the nonarchae-

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ologist may frequently become bewildered by excessive descriptive detail and reference.

Since Oppenheim's purpose is a selective portrait, he has given only a brief historical sketch of Babylonian and Assyrian history and concentrated on certain aspects of Mesopotamian civilization: the ecology of the culture, the social and economic organization of the city, religion, writing, and science. A very interesting introductory chapter discusses the field of Assyriology. It is described as stagnant, marked by a flight into specialization, and the author finds more hope for the future from cultural anthropology than in the more traditional humanistic approach—the Western tradition is uncharitable to alien civilizations. The analysis of urban life and the treatment of Babylonian-Assyrian writing seem most illuminating to me, but the exposition of religious practice and thought is still regrettably alien.

In *Greece in the Bronze Age* Vermeule has given a very full discussion of the archaeological material from mainland Greece as a part of her synthesis. Another book by a different author will discuss the growth and nature of the Minoan civilization of Crete with its Near Eastern connections. Thus the reader of this book (and presumably of the second) is given a somewhat one-sided perspective for consideration of the key problem of Aegean prehistory: the relationship between the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations. However, Vermeule has written a thoughtful and sympathetic account of Mycenaean civilization based on her thorough knowledge of the archaeological material. She is very much at home in interpretation of the monuments and ability to convey her own enjoyment, but perhaps less so in applying the methods of cultural anthropology. The result seems a generally sound historical reconstruction of a difficult period, for which each specialist will have his own reservations and in which the important questions of the chronology of Minoan-Mycenaean relations and of the authorship and manner of the destruction of the Mycenaean fortress citadels are still unresolved.

Northwestern University CARL ROEBUCK

THE WORLD HISTORY OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. General Editor, *B. Netanyahu.* First Series, ANCIENT TIMES. Volume I, AT THE DAWN OF CIVILIZATION: A BACKGROUND OF BIBLICAL HISTORY. Editor, *E. A. Speiser.* ([New Brunswick, N. J.:] Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 388. $17.50.)

THIS is the first of a projected twenty-volume *World History of the Jewish People,* aimed at the presentation of the story of the Jewish people from prehistoric times to the present, covering all aspects of Jewish life: political, social, economic, religious, and cultural.

Fundamentally different from most other available works on Jewish history, this project, as clearly evidenced in this first volume, approaches the subject as part of a whole, as a steady involvement in the history of other nations, and stresses the interaction, the interdependence, of the Jewish experience with universal history. Such an undertaking can be carried out only through the con-

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certed, cooperative efforts of all the leading authorities in the field, and their participation in this project has indeed been obtained.

Guided by this new and sound historiographical approach, this volume, as its subtitle indicates, offers a new interpretation and exploration of those centuries in which Jewish history began and deals with the background, the setting of the Biblical period within the framework of the ancient Near East.

The first part, "At the Dawn of Civilization," investigates the environmental factors in which Jewish history began (Israel, Syria, Mesopotamia) and the physical aspects (including morphology, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and prehistory); the second part describes the linguistic factors (the Semitics, the Akkadians, the Egyptians) and the ethnolinguistic elements such as Semites, Sumerians, Hurrians and Hittites, Amorites and Canaanites, which played so decisive a role in Jewish Biblical history.

The major part of this volume deals with "Mesopotamia—Evolution of an Integrated Civilization," by the editor of this volume, E. A. Speiser, and with the civilization of "Egypt—the Kingdom of the Two Lands," by J. S. Wilson.

All of these chapters have been written by the world's leading experts and authorities in the field, incorporating our most recent knowledge on this area. The investigation shows how the land of Israel arose as a unique factor in world history, how its enduring impact is without parallel in the annals of mankind, and how, in the words of the editor, Israel was both an heir to the older culture of the Near East and a source of new and far-reaching contributions. Eighty-eight halftone illustrations, six maps, notes, bibliography, and index add considerably to its value and usability.

The quality of this first volume augurs well for the successive publications, and the scholarly world will look forward with great anticipation to the continuation of this great and exciting project which will unfold the four-thousand-year panorama of Biblical, medieval, and modern Jewish history.

University of California, Berkeley WALTER J. FISCHEL

HANDBOOK OF BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY: PRINCIPLES OF TIME RECKONING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD AND PROBLEMS OF CHRONOLOGY IN THE BIBLE. By *Jack Finegan*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xxvi, 338. $8.50.)

IN this beautifully printed volume the author—favorably known for his successful general works, *Light from the Ancient Past* (1946, 1959) and *Archaeology of World Religions* (1952)—undertakes to provide a comprehensive handbook of technical and historical chronology for Biblical scholars and students. He gives much more, and much less, than the title promises, since he limits himself in the main to technical rather than historical chronology. This is good in a book of this character, since it cuts off much indecisive debate at the same time that it gives basic data which are by no means easy to locate and which are nowhere else presented in this compact form.

The volume is divided into two main parts: "Principles of Chronology in the Ancient World" and "Problems of Chronology in the Bible." In the former he

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discusses units of time, calendars (Egyptian, Babylonian, Jewish, Greek, Macedonian, and Roman) and eras; he also gives a very welcome (though only indirectly relevant, as a rule) account of the early Christian chronographers, including over fifty pages on the *Chronicle of Eusebius* (early fourth century A.D.). In the latter he deals summarily with the Old Testament and at length with the New Testament, where he is entirely at home. It is hard to avoid the inference that the book was originally intended as a companion for the New Testament and Hellenistic-Roman specialist, and that it was later expanded. We are grateful to him for this expansion, since the book has become a very useful reference tool for the whole subject, though only the New Testament part rests on firsthand acquaintance with the languages and civilizations involved.

The author has obviously spared no pains to be as thorough as practicable in covering necessary bibliography; he also employs rigorous standards to ensure accuracy, both in content and in execution. Proofreading is uniformly careful. The work is well organized and clearly written. In treating specific problems of historical chronology he is at his best as he reconstructs the chronology of St. Paul's activities, where important epigraphical finds reinforce and correct literary data.

One area of research where the author is obviously not at home is the complex and often elusive field of second-millennium chronology, corresponding to Hebrew-Israelite tradition from Abraham to the early monarchy. Fortunately he avoids any temptation to enter into detail, since it happens that still unpublished evidence clarifies most of the chronological problems in question and will soon make it possible to provide a satisfactory reconstruction of early Biblical chronology. This reconstruction will be almost entirely independent of the artificial system created in later Israelite times.

We congratulate the author on a very useful contribution to the working literature of the ancient historian.

Johns Hopkins University WILLIAM F. ALBRIGHT

ALL THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH: ISRAELITE PROPHECY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. By *Norman K. Gottwald*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1964. Pp. xiii, 448. $7.00.)

THE author, an Old Testament scholar, presents in this book his analysis of the views on international relations held by the Hebrew prophets from the earliest times to the restoration of the Jewish community in Palestine in 538 B.C. Avoiding a pedantic and restricted course of the Biblical exegesis on the one hand, and the broader but venturesome reconstructions of theology on the other, the book serves as a bridge between the two fields. In a separate work the author promises to present his views on the potential contributions of the prophets to our understanding of international relations of the present day. The main thesis is well documented and persuasively presented. The same topic has recently been discussed by H. Donner, *Israel unter den Völkern* (1964).

In Chapter 1 the author attempts to give a bird's-eye view of almost three thousand years of the history of the ancient Near East, especially of the structure of the

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state and its international relations. This chapter is probably of greater general interest to the historian than the rest of the book, and it is here that the greatest shortcomings of the book can be found. Owing to the brevity of this note, I must limit myself to two points. The author calls the early Mesopotamian state a "priestly theocracy" and views its economy as being based on land owned by gods and administered by gods' deputies called "patesi," who alone held private property. By correcting the terms "patesi" to "ensi" and "private property" to "landed property," it can be seen that Gottwald's views on this point closely parallel those held by scholars generally, even by most Assyriologists, who should know better. The fact is that the term "ensi" denoted first a lay ruler of a small city-state, and then simply a governor under a king, and that landed property was not owned exclusively by gods or the state, but also by private individuals or families. The second point to which I take exception is Gottwald's statement that the Assyrian king, as in early Sumer, "was selected from a body of noblemen, perhaps even on an annual basis." I know of no facts to justify this statement. The Assyrian state was represented by a hereditary and largely despotic monarchy, and the existing democratic processes were limited to advisory capacity and were not involved in either selecting the ruler or controlling the royal power. On that score, the Aristotelian view of Oriental kingship as a virtual tyranny holds true.

University of Chicago I. J. Gelb

LAUDATORES TEMPORIS ACTI: STUDIES IN MEMORY OF WALLACE EVERETT CALDWELL PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA BY HIS FRIENDS AND STUDENTS. Edited by *Mary Francis Gyles* and *Eugene Wood Davis*. [The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, Volume XLVI.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 148. $2.50.)

A homage volume is a gracious thing, and its generation neither should nor will die out, regardless of difficulties it may offer to the bibliographer and librarian, and the essays it can possibly spawn, which would scarcely otherwise have emerged. It is especially appropriate when pupils unite to honor such teachers as the late Professor Caldwell whose sympathies and interests were wide and his pupils numerous but who, from accident or choice, engaged little in publishing for the sake of publication, and so is less well known in scholarly circles than he deserves. A glance at the title page of this book, with its varied and interesting contents, and a reading of President Keeney's foreword will show the worth of Caldwell's services to the profession and will reinforce the recollections of those who knew him personally that here was a dedicated man, as wise as he was modest.

There is little that a reviewer can do in a short space other than to recite these contents, for their diverse nature would lead him far afield. The arrangement is chronological. There is a defense of the Athenians' capacity for enjoyment (Thucydides and the Old Oligarch) by Bliss and of their literacy (women, too) by Immerwahr; this is a first fruit of his extended study of the pottery inscriptions of

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Attica. Clement discusses a numismatic problem, deciding that the term "Olynthian" was in official use only from 454 to 432, otherwise "Chalcidian," and Davis analyzes the Battle of the Granicus, rejecting various ingenious recent interpretations. Papers are devoted to Cicero by Ullman (the issue of a triumph) and Boren (the *concordia ordinum*), and the text of Propertius is defended against critics by White. The image of Caesar in imperial writers is examined by Getty, whose premature death we do not cease to regret, and Wolverton. Rogers defends the worst emperors from tyrannical leanings, while Gyles investigates the economy of Roman Britain. Amber is explored both historically and etymologically by Riddle, and the anthropologists will welcome a survey of premodern craniology by MacKinney and Herndon. Finally, Bodman collects instances of the "Sator" rebus, doubts that a good interpretation of the word "arepo" has been found, but holds that the rebus is to be regarded as Christian until the reverse is proven. At the end there are a bibliography of Caldwell's writings and an index.

Yale University C. Bradford Welles

LA POLITICA DI SOLONE. By *Giovanni Ferrara.* [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici in Napoli, Number 17.] (Naples: the Istituto. 1964. Pp. 153. L. 2,000.)

This book is not meant to be a complete account of Solon and his reforms but rather an analysis of his political theory, which the author insists, however, is intimately tied in with the situation Solon faced and his measures to rectify it. It seems to have been written to counteract Masaracchia's *Solone,* the latest attempt to downgrade Solon as mostly the creation of later political theorists. Ferrara objects, and the first chapter contains a much-needed defense of the Atthidographers and their motives. Since another way of denying Solon's practical accomplishments is to consider most of his ethical and political writings as the impractical theorizing of one of the Seven Wise Men, Ferrara devotes most of the book to an analysis of fragments of the *Carmina.* In almost all cases he finds in them direct allusions to the contemporary situation in Athens or to the criticism and opposition that Solon faced.

Solon emerges as a practical, conservative aristocrat, who tried to resolve a crisis brought on by aristocratic-feudal misrule, mainly by inculcating in all classes, but especially the upper, a desire for moderation based upon piety and wisdom. This was the alternative to tyranny. Ferrara believes that Solon in effect made Athens into a real polis; even when the tyranny came it was milder and better because of his work. If this all sounds rather vague, it is. The nature of the crisis is never really defined. Socioeconomic causes are treated very briefly; the land problem and the *hektemoroi* are discussed only in two notes. Ferrara interprets the reference to "evil slavery" (*Eunomia,* line 18) in a strictly political sense, "slavery to a tyrant," and even the phrase, "an equal share of the rich land" (Frag. 23, line 21), is taken politically.The problems of the Age of Solon are said to have been different from those of the time of Pisistratus, but neither period is analyzed. Just as vague are the references to Solon's actual reforms, even the political. Fer-

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rara has no interest in the details. One does not even know whether or not he believes in the Council of Four Hundred; it is never discussed. These omissions weaken the main thesis, which may well be correct. Yet how can one prove that Solon's political theory was basically practical without analyzing the details of the problems he faced and the reforms he introduced?

University of Cincinnati DONALD W. BRADEEN

HISTOIRE DE BESANÇON. Volume I, DES ORIGINES À LA FIN DU XVI^e^ SIÈCLE. Published under the direction of *Claude Fohlen*. (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France. 1964. Pp. 675.)

IT was Louis XIV's conquest of Franche-Comté in the 1670's that finally made Besançon part of France. Previously it had been dominated by the Habsburgs, who had inherited it as part of Burgundy. This shifting of allegiances and its important geographical location help to give the town an unusual interest. It is a provincial town well deserving of a serious historical study.

In 1958 the *Institut d'études comtoises et jurassiennes* decided to undertake such a work. Given the mass of archival materials (neatly described in the preface) and the special problems of different periods, it was launched as a team project under the general supervision of Claude Fohlen. Such collective works can be disappointing, of course, if the organization of chapters is awkward or if the authors are chosen according to such irrelevancies as local social prominence or amateur enthusiasm. But these pitfalls seem to have been avoided in the preparation of the present volume, with which one can pursue the history of Besançon from the beginning to the sixteenth century under the direction of knowledgeable guides.

Some readers may object to the schematic internal organization within periods (economy, religion, social classes, population, art) or to the inevitable lacunae on points of one's special interests. I personally would have been pleased with a more thorough discussion of the social impact of economic trends, of the reception and rejection of Reformation ideas in the sixteenth century, and of popular attitudes in general. But it should be acknowledged that in the end the work evinces an admirable balance. It provides (unlike many local histories) a history that can capture the interest of readers outside of the local population. For one thing, it is highly useful for comparative purposes.

Incidentally, one cannot help but be encouraged by this example of French printing. Mounted in handsome hard covers, the book is profusely illustrated. If the photographs, all black and white, are not as sharp as might be wished, they are informative and well integrated with the text, and the maps and line drawings are excellent.

University of California, Santa Barbara R. DAVIS BITTON

ROME AND THE CITY OF GOD: AN ESSAY ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF EMPIRE AND CHURCH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY. By *Karl Frederick Morrison*. [Transactions of the

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American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LIV, Part 1.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. 55. $1.50.)

THIS essay contains a penetrating analysis of the relations between Church and state in the fourth century and of the theory upon which they were based. The author has examined in detail the writings of St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, and St. Ambrose as being both major and typical representatives of Christian thought in this field. His study is an outstanding contribution. He has demonstrated conclusively that the Christians, while recognizing the Empire as a true juridical corporation in the political sphere, developed the theory that the Church constituted a true juridical corporation in the theological and spiritual sphere, with its own independent rights and privileges. The Christian theory on the position of the Church in relation to the state, however, did not evolve out of Roman political and legal thinking that was applied to the relations of Church and state from the Age of Constantine, as has been usually assumed in the past, but was based primarily on the Old Testament concept of the people of God and the application of this concept to the new people of God, the Christian Church. The Christian bishops regarded themselves not only as successors of the Apostles, but also of the prophets of Israel. Their concept of the Church as a spiritual corporation, but also a legal corporation in the strictest sense, was thus derived from scriptural teaching and tradition.

Christian political theory in the relations of Church and state had not reached its full development at the end of the fourth century, but had progressed far beyond the embryonic stage. Furthermore, the clashes between the Church and imperial authority were already indicating the characteristic features of future tensions and conflicts.

Generous quotations in accurate translation from the sources and an excellent bibliography enhance the value of the essay. The important monograph by C. Moreno, *Chiesa e stato nella dottrina di S. Ambrogio* (1963), which appeared after the essay was in print, confirms Morrison's position.

Catholic University of America MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

LA POLITICA GOTICA DI TEODOSIO NELLA PUBBLICISTICA DEL SUO TEMPO. By *Massimiliano Pavan*. (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider. 1964. Pp. 81.)

IN 378 the Roman Army was smashed at the crucial Battle of Adrianople by the Visigoths, and the Emperor Valens was killed. This astonishing victory of the "barbaric" Goths posed for successive emperors, notably Theodosius, the problem of what policy to follow toward the Germans, whose presence in the East as well as the West, as some Western historians do not always remember, constituted for several generations a very serious problem. Massimiliano Pavan has in this rather brief monograph essayed the task of interpreting for us the conflicting views of the publicists of the period, Greek as well as Latin, toward Theodosius' policy vis-à-vis the Goths. The chief source he draws upon is the *Orationes* of Themistius (1882). Themistius, a pagan philosopher imbued with the ideals of Aristotle, Plato, and the Stoics, remarkably enough assumed the task as a kind of court encomiast to

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panegyrize the Christian Emperor Theodosius—a fact demanding the exercise of much care in evaluating his statements. Pavan's approach, often that of a philologist, is sufficiently objective, and he contrasts Themistius' very favorable attitude toward Theodosius with that of St. Ambrose of Milan (always an intransigent opponent of the Arians, Germans or otherwise), and of St. Jerome. (Pavan doubts that Jerome actually termed the Goths "a people of Gog and Magog.") Pavan also briefly discusses certain pertinent theories of Libanius, Synesius, and of Chrysostom, particularly in connection with the famous legal terms *nomos empsychos* and *arche ennomos*.

As Pavan shows, Themistius in his orations praises the tolerance of Theodosius' policy toward the Goths, his (pagan) qualities of piety and especially of *philanthropeia* (universal love of humanity, which was somewhat different from the Christian agape), which permitted Theodosius to regard the barbarians as not outside the cosmos but as an essential part of it. Whether Theodosius' policy of *sygnomen* ("forgiveness and conciliation" toward the Goths; today we might term it "collaboration") was correct as a solution for the German problem (Theodosius even enrolled Goths in the Roman Army) has been debated by modern historians. Piganiol, for example, in his *Histoire de Rome* (1949) denigrates it as "preparing for the occupation of the empire by the barbarians." Pavan, in general, however, eschews such sharp judgments (see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* [1964], who thinks it difficult to evaluate Theodosius' policy because of the paucity of the facts available). The author seems to have read the highly rhetorical writings of Themistius carefully, and his footnotes, if not copious, are adequate. The work may be termed very solid though overly brief with respect to the historical context it provides for the particular points made. But the author is to be commended for making something interesting out of these prolix orations of Themistius, which, aside from their rhetorical significance, are by general consensus today considered to be of far less historical value and interest than Themistius' commentaries on Aristotle. An index and chapter divisions would have been a help to the reader.

University of Illinois DENO J. GEANAKOPLOS

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΒΛΑΧΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ. Α', ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΥΤΣΟΒΛΑΧΩΝ [The Vlachs of Greek Areas. Volume I, A Contribution to the Investigation of the Origin of the Kutsovlachs]. By *Telemachos M. Katsougiannes*. [Society for Macedonian Studies. Publications of the National Library, Number 22.] (Thessalonike: the Society. 1964. Pp. 94.)

THE Vlachs, those Latin-speaking nomads scattered widely over the more mountainous and remote parts of the Balkan Peninsula from Acarnania in the south to as far north as the mountains of Bulgaria and Serbia, have long been the subject of controversial discussion among scholars. The basis for this controversy has been provided by the extreme paucity of evidence concerning these nomads' origin and early history, which have been time and again interpreted in a biased way to fit the political and nationalistic aims of the various Balkan peoples.

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The author of the present volume deals exclusively with the problem of the origin of the Vlachs of the Greek areas, more accurately known as Kutsovlachs, whom he considers as Romanized indigenous tribes. The author's argument is based entirely on hypothetical grounds, and his treatment of the subject lacks a rigorous scholarly method and a knowledge of important primary and secondary literature, which he could readily have found mentioned in Professor R. L. Wolff's survey appended to his study on "The 'Second Bulgarian Empire'; Its Origin and History to 1204" (*Speculum,* XXIV [Apr. 1949], 203–206).

The appendix of the book, however, which consists of a long list of Vlach words from the Kruševo region in Yugoslav Macedonia, is of great value. These words are not included in C. Nikolaides' *Etymologikon lexikon tes koutsoblachikes* (1909) and remain in part even unknown to the most recent and comprehensive *Dictionarul dialectului aromîn; general şi etimologic* (1963) by T. Papahagi, which the author apparently did not have an opportunity to consult. The information concerning the meaning of *torna,* a verbal form used, according to the author, by the Vlach muleteers even today to signify that the baggage on a pack mule is slipping, is of special significance. It enables us to confirm the view, sometimes challenged, that the muleteer's shout *torna, torna* (Theophylacus Simocatta [ed. De Boor, 100]; or as Theophanes [ed. De Boor, I, 258] has it *torna, torna frater*), when he noticed that the pack on one of the baggage animals began to slip during a Byzantine campaign in the passes of the Balkans in 586, is simply a Vlach expression, the first to have ever been recorded.

University of California, Berkeley GEORGE C. SOULIS

MONASTIC TITHES: FROM THEIR ORIGINS TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY. By *Giles Constable.* [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, New Series, Volume X.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xxi, 346. $9.50.)

MEDIEVAL Europe's oldest and most widespread tax, the ecclesiastical tithe, must be reckoned as one of the age's most complicated institutions. It is also one of the most interesting, at least in the sense that almost every aspect of medieval ecclesiastical life and many aspects of economic life were affected by it. A buttress of the Church's economy, the tithe was also a problem for its administrators, a source of frequent disputes with laymen and among ecclesiastics, a riddle for lawyers, and both a support for and a threat to the highest aspirations of medieval spirituality. Within this complex and as yet poorly explored field, Professor Constable examines a specific kind of tithe, the existence of which was itself an anomaly. Monks, who formed in the early Middle Ages an order distinct from the clergy as well as from laymen, had no right in Church tradition to collect tithes; rather, as all the faithful, they were obligated to pay them. How then can it be explained that, by the twelfth century, both the practice and the law of the Church conceded to the monasteries not only wide exemptions from the obligation to pay tithes, but even the right to possess them? To answer this, his principal question, Constable divides his study into three topics: the theory and practice of tithing in the early Middle Ages; the changes that, between the ninth and twelfth century, conceded

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to monks a *de facto* exemption from many tithes and ownership over others; and, in the legal systematization of the twelfth century, a modification of canon law, brought about in large measure by the papacy itself, that extended to the monks canonical recognition of the privileges they had already long been enjoying.

In the course of his research, Constable explores fields much larger than his title suggests. His first section is in fact an informative account of the origins of tithing in the medieval Church. The range of sources he consults—private acts, capitularies, theological tracts, canonical codifications and commentaries—is comprehensive, and the geographical span of his interests—the whole of Western Europe—is no less impressive. His footnotes offer a full, timely, and valuable commentary upon recent scholarly criticism of the multifarious sources he uses. Some few criticisms may of course be made. The sources of the early Middle Ages do not seem full and clear enough to justify the assertion several times made that tithes, in a peculiar way, belonged to God, while other ecclesiastical revenues belonged to the clergy or to the poor. More emphasis might also have been placed upon the basic ambiguity that persistently hovers around the word "tithe," particularly in private acts. The term could also mean a secular quitrent, and in scores if not hundreds of private documents, the historian simply cannot tell what type of rent the term is signifying. The impression is strong that even contemporaries often did not know the precise origins and nature of the "tithe" that had become traditionally associated with a property. This conflation of sacred and profane rents upon the level of practice helps explain how laymen and the monks themselves could continue in apparent good conscience to collect tithes that they were sternly forbidden to possess at the risk of their souls. These remarks do not, however, diminish the solid quality of the work. American medievalists in recent years have been making notable contributions to scholarly understanding of the history, institutions, law, and thought of the medieval Church; Constable's study is a distinguished addition to this ever more impressive list.

University of Wisconsin DAVID HERLIHY

THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT: A NORMAN PROSE VERSION. Edited by *Ruth J. Dean* and *M. Dominica Legge*. [Medium Ævum Monographs, Number 7.] (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell for the Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature. 1964. Pp. xxx, 111. 40*s*.)

A WELCOME addition to the multitude of books about the holy Rule of St. Benedict, this particular volume is primarily a contribution to study of the Anglo-Norman language of the High Middle Ages. The editors suggest that, despite its preservation in England, the provenance of the manuscript was Montebourg in Normandy. But to avoid confusion with a late Montebourg manuscript, the designation "Douce" is maintained.

The text is quite nicely and readably done, although one misses some fuller documentation. A valuable glossary and a tabulation of other vernacular versions of the Rule are appended. The single illustration, the frontispiece, is a good reproduction of one folio of the manuscript.

With all its good, sound, substantial qualities, a work like this still provokes

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one to wonder why it was published. It fails to live up to a remark on the jacket that the anonymous translator in his expansion throws light on his own personality and the character of his monastery. The light thus thrown is exceedingly dim.

I can imagine the special interest to philologists in a presentation of the text, but they will still have to do much work on their own to reap the benefits. It seems to me that a much more significant work might have resulted.

University of Mississippi ALLEN CABANISS

L'EMIRATO DI BARI, 847–871. By *Giosuè Musca.* [Università degli Studi di Bari, Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna. Saggi, Number 4.] (Bari: Dedalo Litostampa. 1964. Pp. 176. L. 2,000.)

THIS slender volume on the emirate of Bari, written by a relatively young Italian scholar who has published in recent years a number of other works on early medieval history, surveys the secondary literature on south Italian history in the ninth century and then attempts to confirm or modify the historical story of the Saracenic state at Bari presented by these writers by reference to the documents and chronicles that survive from the period itself.

The result is a confident presentation of the very confused series of events that occurred in south Italy in the ninth century as Franks strove with Lombards only to be replaced by Saracens, the Saracens to be replaced by Byzantine Greeks. To make order out of the conflicting accounts offered by the sources—mainly Latin and Greek, but also some Arabic—is no small achievement indeed. In presenting his conclusions, Musca carefully justifies his disagreement with the dates of the emirate accepted by such historians as Muratori, Amari, and Gay.

The volume concludes with a brief treatment of society, religion, and economy in the ninth-century Mezzogiorno. Unfortunately, the treatment is too brief to do more than indicate a few main trends. Even in such brevity, however, Musca clearly implies that the establishment of a Saracenic state at Bari, even for such a short period (847–871), was not necessarily a calamity and that at least so far as the economic vitality of the region was concerned, this may even have been a blessing in disguise.

The book also contains an interesting, although brief, bibliographical note and an index.

Rice University K. F. DREW

URBAN CIVILIZATION IN PRE-CRUSADE EUROPE: A STUDY OF ORGANIZED TOWN-LIFE IN NORTHWESTERN EUROPE DURING THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES, BASED ON THE RESPONSA LITERATURE. In two volumes. By *Irving A. Agus.* (New York: Yeshiva University Press; distrib. by Bloch Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. xi, 419; 421–821. $15.00 the set.)

HISTORIANS interested in the economic life and history of towns in Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries will find in these volumes an important new

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body of information. They contain some three hundred Jewish *responsa,* dealing with disputes involving Jewish communities of Western Europe during this period, which were settled by their own authorities. Each *responsum* is arranged under the special heading of travel, security, monopoly, business, moneylending, trades, or real estate, and is translated with a copious analysis of its meaning and significance. Irving Agus' meticulous scholarship and acquaintance with Talmudic literature make him ideally suited to present this material to the scholar, who heretofore has had to rely upon the incomplete and faulty translation of *responsa* literature provided by Moses Hoffman fifty years ago.

The documentation in these volumes reveals that the Jews of Western Europe, especially in the Rhinelands, were an active group of businessmen who had developed a sophisticated set of business practices. It shows them as alodial landowners, merchants, and entrepreneurs, who were only starting to concern themselves with moneylending. It emphasizes their willingness to unite to protect their interests by group action, and the corporateness of their communities anticipates what Western European burghers were to display in later centuries. It also shows a Northwestern Europe anything but isolated from the more advanced economics of Byzantium and Islam.

It seems carping in the light of the importance of the material and the useful way it has been presented to warn the reader that he cannot accept all of Agus' comments at face value. He is inclined throughout to overstate his case for the uniqueness and originality of the Jewish communities he describes. He does so, it seems, because almost all of the non-Jewish literature he cites reflects the views of the Pirenne school. Such views have been seriously challenged in recent years, for it has been shown that, in addition to Jews, a large number of Frisian, Anglo-Saxon, Italian, German, and Slavic merchants existed during this period, and they carried on an extensive international and local commerce, lived in trading places, and used group action to gain their ends. The Jews Agus ably describes had many non-Jewish rivals and competitors. In his own documentation we see a non-Jewish world which seems to have been based on a money economy and was not unacquainted with commerce and moneylending on its own account. Thus these volumes help us to see the economic life of Europe, not, as Pirenne saw it, as starting with the rise of towns in the eleventh century, but as slow, steady, gradual growth over a period of centuries.

University of Texas ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

ISTORIA ROMÎNIEI. Volume II, FEUDALISMUL TIMPURIU: FEUDALISMUL DEZVOLTAT, ÎN CONDITIILE FĂRÎMITĂRII FEUDALE ŞI ALE LUPTEI PENTRU CENTRALIZAREA STATULUI; FEUDALISMUL DEZVOLTAT, ÎN CONDITIILE INSTAURĂRII DOMINATIEI OTOMANE (A DOUA JUMĂTATE A SECOLULUI AL XVI-LEA [History of Rumania. Volume II, Early Feudalism: Feudalism under the Breaking up of the Feudal System and the Struggle for the Centralization of the State; Feudalism under the Imposition of Ottoman Domination (Second Half of the Sixteenth Century)]. Edited by *A. Otetea et al.* [Aca-

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demia Republicii Populare Romîne.] ([Bucharest:] the Academy. [1962.] Pp. xli, 1157. Lei 45.)

THIS second of a projected eight-volume history of Rumania is a massive and thorough Marxist synthesis of the Middle Ages. Implementing the directives of the Rumanian Workers' party and adhering to the chronological criteria established by the Rumanian Academy, the several authors have devoted over one thousand pages to the history of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania between the tenth and seventeenth century. Their work represents a major departure from traditional Rumanian historiography; it concentrates on the evolution of the feudal order rather than on the activities of the secular rulers of the Rumanian provinces and the problems connected with Ottoman domination.

The rewriting of Rumanian medieval history is long overdue. Indeed, the rather primitive chronological-dynastic approach initiated by A. D. Xenopol and perpetuated by most of his devoted students provided no scope for any meaningful analysis of socioeconomic or even political developments from the establishment of Wallachia and Moldavia until the *de facto* subjugation of these provinces by the Turks. Even the eminent Nicolae Iorga extolled the virtues of men like Ştefan cel Mare and Mihai Viteazul—alleged forefathers of Rumanian independence and territorial aggrandizement—and engaged in violent diatribes against the few Rumanian scholars of the 1930's who sought to minimize the cult of medieval historic personalities.

It is regrettable that those whom Iorga attacked were never able to complete their own syntheses of Rumanian history. C. C. Giurescu's attempt, in particular, interrupted by World War II and subsequent developments, imperfect as it was, still promised to become the first meaningful, comprehensive evaluation of the Middle Ages. Fortunately, most of the members of the "realistic school," including A. Otetea, M. Berza, and P. P. Panaitescu, are, however, among the contributors to this volume.

They and their younger collaborators have achieved generally impressive results. The several authors have provided the first balanced and carefully documented account of the medieval feudal order in Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. The analysis of institutions and of the relationships among the components of the medieval state order is particularly intelligent. Inevitable exaggerations require careful reading of the chapters devoted to relations among social classes and the role of the peasantry in the "struggle for liberation" from feudal aristocrat and Ottoman suzerain alike. In fact, the thesis of the dual "social" and "national" opposition of the masses to domestic and foreign oppressors in Transylvania as well as in the Rumanian provinces is questionable for the period before the seventeenth century. These interpretive deficiencies are compensated for by the enormous amount of factual data on all aspects of medieval Rumanian history and several excellent chapters on Rumanian culture.

Inasmuch as the study was written five years ago, prior to the adoption of the "new Rumanian course," a revised edition is in prospect. With deletion of Russian imposed theses and related polemics, this volume of *Istoria Romîniei* should become the authoritative synthesis of medieval Rumanian history.

Wayne State University STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

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OBSHCHESTVENNO-POLITICHESKAIA MYSL' DREVNEI RUSI (XI–XIV VV.) [Social and Political Thought of Ancient Russia (Eleventh to Fourteenth Century)]. By *I. U. Budovnits*. (Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. 1960. Pp. 486. 2 rubles, 10 kopecks.)

In 1947 the author published his *Russkaja Publicistika* XVI *v.* The present book covers the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. Several of its thirteen essays have appeared previously in various Soviet learned journals.

Few works dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, original or translated, deal expressly with sociopolitical subjects, and Mr. Budovnits discusses only a few of them. Consequently, most of his other texts are homiletic, literary, hagiographic, historical, and even folkloristic. The book's individual chapters center upon a text or event or deal with larger topics.

The author's general propositions are as follows: Contrary to assertions by bourgeois historians, documents of Russian sociopolitical thought did exist between the eleventh and the fourteenth century, "long before" the investiture struggle in the West. These documents were: autochthonous, original and often anti-Byzantine; deeply patriotic; and preoccupied with the notion of Russia's unity and with the establishment of centralized rule.

For the period prior to the Tartar invasion, these propositions are difficult to prove. Consequently, the first part of the book contains some shibboleths, contradictions, and plain errors.

For the period after 1240, Budovnits' main propositions do little or no harm to his narrative, for after that date and prior to the fifteenth century, the influx of translated literature came to a virtual stop. Thus, the second part of the book is a lively account of a fascinating ideological contest and contains many valuable observations.

Budovnits does not quote foreign authors, except for D. I. Čiževskij, castigated for a multitude of sins, including the one of not quoting Soviet scholars. Yet, Werner Philipp and Francis Dvornik deserve to be mentioned, and E. Honigmann, D. Obolensky, and T. Fijałek should have been used. The long years of Budovnits' journalistic and editorial career stood him in good stead: the book reads well and is written with gusto.

Columbia University Ihor Ševčenko

THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS, ENGLAND, AND EUROPE, 1035–1066. By *Sten Körner*. [Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, Number 14.] ([Lund:] CWK Gleerup. 1964. Pp. xii, 303. 32.50 Kr. S.)

The first half of this valuable study comprises several specialized investigations into the relevant eleventh- and twelfth-century English and continental sources. This *Urkundenkritik* leads to certain novel conclusions in the light of which the author, in the remainder of the book, examines and attempts to solve various problems relating to the Norman Conquest and its antecedent circumstances. His convincing demonstration of the interdependence and the common chauvinistic bias of the oldest Norman sources (William of Jumièges, Guy of Amiens, William of Poitiers), for example, negates their claim that Harold's kingship was unlawful.

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The analysis of the *Encomium Emmæ* inspires the interesting speculation that the puzzling incongruities of detailed knowledge and apparent gross ignorance characterizing that work result from the propagandist aim to secure the threatened crown of Hardecanute. Körner's case is plausible in spite of reasoning not always unimpeachable. The assertion that the encomiast's disapproval of the rule-sharing arrangement between Hardecanute and Edward can be inferred from an adverse judgment on the joint kingship of Canute and Edmund Ironside is certainly unjustified: the situations are simply not analogous.

No doubt the most significant of Körner's original ideas about the source materials is that the CDE recensions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, regarded as largely independent of one another during the eleventh century, actually all draw upon a putative *x* annal. Were this so, of course, they could not be used to corroborate or confirm one another's testimony. The argument depends chiefly on verbal similarities in certain parallel passages. Körner maintains that it is "simplest to explain the correspondences by a common source," but Ockham's "razor" is not, unfortunately, an infallible principle. Some similarities are too slight to credit, and some are obviously a result of formulaic usage. In any event the hypothesis fails to account for indisputable nonconcurrence among CDE in other parallel passages. The affinities of these recensions in the eleventh century remain (in Professor Whitelock's phrase) "a complicated problem," but Körner has, hopefully, contributed to its solution.

The attempt to elucidate English politics by reference to a wider European diplomatic context is provocative and conforms to the present scholarly trend. It results, nevertheless, in some of the least persuasive determinations in the book. The elaborate refutation of the notion that Duke William had wide international support is wholly unconvincing: even impeccable methodology cannot compensate for insufficiency of data. The documentation of the study is excellent, but far too many mechanical slips have survived proofreading, and the index is superficial.

University of Massachusetts DEAN WARE

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION OF NORMAN ENGLAND. By *C. Warren Hollister*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 319. $7.20.)

IN this second of Professor Hollister's studies of the military institutions of medieval England, the critical line of 1066 has been crossed, and the battle will soon be fully joined. Few scholars have evinced much interest in the military structure of the Anglo-Saxon state, but with post-Conquest England it is another matter altogether, and Hollister's closely reasoned re-creation of Anglo-Norman institutions is bound to draw fire from every quarter. Despite the fact that this is an important and highly significant book, a concise summation of all that is known or can be inferred about the military organization of Norman England, the evidence is so scanty that its interpretation of necessity will vary with the approach of the interpreter. When conclusions must be drawn on the basis of a single charter or a unique list of knights' fees, there cannot but be honest differences of opinion.

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The principal thesis of *The Military Organization of Norman England* is that while the introduction of military feudalism into England by the Conqueror was a radical innovation, its impact was profoundly modified by the economic prosperity of the country and the continued use of the English militia. Indeed, a prime virtue of the book is its clear refutation of the thesis advanced by Richardson and Sayles that the fyrd service of the Anglo-Saxons differed in no important respect from the knight's service of the Normans. This contention has surely been laid to rest. Elsewhere Hollister demonstrates that the introduction of the castle profoundly altered the military geography of England, creating, perhaps, as many problems as were solved. He removes from conjecture the theory advanced by Smail and Prestwich that the feudal resources of the Norman kings were inadequate for the defense of the realm and that the uniform military success enjoyed by Norman arms was due in large part to the employment of the English fyrd and mercenary contingents in addition to the quotas of the feudal tenants in chief. He demolishes forever, it is to be hoped, the notion that cavalry was all-important on the battlefields of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. That the feudal component was as negligible a factor as Hollister suggests is certainly open to question; that it was at all times the primary resource can no longer be maintained.

The only obvious errors occur when Hollister departs from institutional history and ventures into the realm of military operations. The combat between the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury and Magnus Barfod in 1098, for example, took place not on the Cheshire coast, but in Anglesey, then a part of the Welsh principality of Gwynedd. Again, Duke Robert's invasion army of 1101 numbered perhaps fourteen hundred men, if Corbett's figures for the capacity of medieval shipping may be relied upon, and this was not a "large army," even by twelfth-century standards. The importance of the English contribution to the suppression of the revolts of 1088, 1101, and 1102 is probably overdrawn, but such misinterpretations do not detract significantly from the essential value of Hollister's work. This is a controversial but extremely important contribution to our knowledge of the military structure of post-Conquest England. While scholars may argue about Hollister's interpretation of this point or that, it is most unlikely, barring the discovery of additional evidence, that his general conclusions will be altered in any fundamental respect.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro JOHN BEELER

TENURE AND MOBILITY: STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MEDIAEVAL ENGLISH VILLAGE. By *J. Ambrose Raftis*. [Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, Number 8.] (Toronto: the Institute. 1964. Pp. 309. $6.50.)

IN this careful study of English village life in the later Middle Ages, Professor Raftis has endeavored to penetrate the "paper curtain" of common-law terminology and manorial models that obscures the real activities of the medieval peasant. Basing his work on a painstaking analysis of materials relating to the estates of Ramsey Abbey—village court rolls, manorial surveys, extants, and account rolls—he

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has illuminated a variety of problems concerning the medieval villager and his community. His cautious conclusions are enlivened and substantiated by extensive quotations in English translation from the Ramsey records and are elucidated by a series of useful and imaginative tables. The study concludes with an appendix containing an extensive collection of relevant sources.

The basic theme of Raftis' study is the flexibility and dynamism of medieval peasant life. He calls attention to the "two silent revolutions in the social history of the villager in medieval England: the emancipation of the slave, and the emancipation of the serf. . . . These revolutions were silent because they developed through the custom of village life itself rather than through the 'public' laws of the age, either common or canon." The author is chiefly concerned neither with the slave of Domesday Book nor with the copyholder of the later fifteenth century and after. Rather he stresses the customary tenants who inhabited the villages of Ramsey during the centuries between these silent revolutions.

In sociological fashion, Raftis examines the Ramsey villeins in relation to their families and their village communities. He is at pains to show that the peasant community was by no means as confining or rigid as it is sometimes portrayed. It was a product of the villagers' needs and the villagers' initiative more than of the lord's authority. "These villagers were capable of adapting all types of institutions to their own use: reeve and beadle were not merely officials of the lord, but servants of their fellow villagers. . . ."

The Ramsey villager had his roots deep in the soil and held his land by hereditary right. Yet, as Raftis shows us in patient detail, land could be and often was transferred from one holder to another, and villagers were leaving their villages, legally or illegally, throughout the later Middle Ages to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Raftis' analysis of peasant mobility is perhaps the most illuminating section in his study. It is a striking example of the vitality that the author finds in so many aspects of medieval peasant life.

This work is well conceived and well executed. Narrow in scope, unspectacular in its conclusions, it never strays far from the sources on which it is based. Its contribution to historical scholarship will be modest but lasting.

University of California, Santa Barbara C. Warren Hollister

DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Volume I, 1101–1272. Edited by *Pierre Chaplais*. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. xii, 362. $24.00 postpaid.)

This volume has been compiled from the Diplomatic Documents of the Chancery and Exchequer, and from the files of Ancient Correspondence. A good many of the documents have been printed before, but the decision to reprint them was wise. We now have in one volume all the originals of treaties and analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office for the period 1101–1272, beginning with an Anglo-French "feudal" treaty of 1101, the earliest of its kind to survive in Western Europe. Dr. Chaplais has taken a very liberal view of what documents are relevant

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to the study of English diplomacy, and the volume illuminates not only diplomacy, but also more than one problem of government, both central and local.

The editorial duties he has performed are all the more important since many of the originals he has transcribed are in very bad condition, and it is perhaps a little unreasonable, in view of all he has done, to suggest that in the case of documents relating to two problems of English domestic history his scholarly comments could perhaps have been profitably extended. Nevertheless, these cases seem to be worth a brief comment. As is well known, in the first of them, both Honorius III and Gregory IX may have sent Henry III letters declaring him of age, in 1223 and 1227. Attention is directed to this possibility by the footnotes to Document 243, but it is hardly enough to refer to the *Red Book of the Exchequer* and Miss Kate Norgate's comments in *The Minority of Henry III*. The problem involved here deserves to be more fully set forth, and the weight of evidence may well be against the solution Norgate proposed.

The other problem concerns the negotiations between Henry and the barons after the Battle of Lewes. Between May 14 and the final agreement on September 14, many proposals for arbitration were considered; no less than six survive. One of these (Document 393) is dated by Chaplais in September, perhaps following a suggestion made by Shirley, but the date may well be misleading. When this document was written, the French arbitrators had still to be chosen, and two alternative ways of selecting the whole panel were suggested. Moreover, the arbitrators were still to consider the Form of Peace which had been agreed on immediately after the battle. Both these features seem to mark the document as belonging to an earlier rather than a later phase of the negotiations. The possibility is well worth pointing out in view of the great importance of the whole series of negotiations.

But no comments of this kind should be allowed to obscure the outstanding merits of this edition. Rather, it should be said in conclusion that the author's self-effacing efficiency is evident on every page. He has, indeed, given us 362 pages of brilliantly assembled documents of great historical importance, together with an index that is adequate to meet all reasonable demands.

University of Toronto B. Wilkinson

THURSTAN, ARCHIBISHOP OF YORK (1114–1140). By *Donald Nicholl.* (York: Stonegate Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 277. 36*s*.)

This is a thorough book on a central figure in the Anglo-Norman church under Henry I. Born at Bayeux about 1070, Thurstan moved to London while still a young man. He became a canon of St. Paul's and a chaplain to Henry I, who appointed him archbishop of York in 1114. From then until his death in 1140 he was deeply involved in affairs of Church and state in England and Scotland. Nicholl divides his book, after two introductory chapters on Thurstan's early life and on conditions in the province of York, into six chapters. Three are concerned with "the seven years of probation" (1114–1121), particularly Thurstan's controversy with Canterbury and relations with the papal *Curia,* with his "skirmishing on two fronts, in England and Scotland," and with "the re-ordering and expansion

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of the archdiocese." Then there are two chapters on the Cistercians and other new monastic orders and on Thurstan as a promoter of holy vocations. Finally there is a chapter on the five years following the death of Henry I, when Thurstan supported Stephen and helped defend the north against King David of Scotland. A short epilogue is followed by two appendixes (one on Thurstan's acta and the other on his famous letter describing the establishment of Fountains), a good bibliography, and an index.

Nicholl shows how Thurstan stood on the watershed of old and new in the Church of the twelfth century. On the one hand he belonged with the old Anglo-Norman clergy, from whose ranks came some of the sharpest critics of the reform movement and some of the ablest members of Henry I's new bureaucracy. His father was a canon of St. Paul's; his brother, who inherited his father's prebend, became bishop of Evreux; he himself rose through the royal service, was appointed archbishop of York while still a subdeacon, and spent much of his life in wordly activities. Yet he was ready to resist the King on matters of principle. He sympathized with the new monastic and spiritual movements of his time and promoted what Nicholl calls "the renaissance of monasticism" in Yorkshire. Twelve days before his death Thurstan fulfilled a youthful vow and took the habit of Cluny—the greatest representative of the old Benedictine monasticism—at Pontefract. His life therefore touches on many different aspects of the political, ecclesiastical, and spiritual history of the twelfth century and is a warning against categorizing too sharply the tendencies in the Church of his age.

Harvard University GILES CONSTABLE

NORGE BLIR EN STAT, 1130–1319. By *Knut Helle*. [Handbok i Norges Historie, Volume I, Part 3.] ([Oslo:] Universitetsforlaget. 1964. Pp. ix, 210. Kr. 24.50.)

UNLIKE the patriotic histories of medieval Norway written during the nineteenth century this work gives a succinct, critical, and detached picture of the important twelfth and thirteenth centuries when Norway emerged from the turmoil of regional wars between different chieftains and became a unified monarchy with a dynastic line of succession equaled at this time only in France.

After a brief survey of the sources, the author proceeds chronologically and in five chapters carries the internal political development up to 1280. Preceding the growth of the monarchy, but equally noticeable, was the growth of the church. In 1152 the Norwegian church became organized under the archbishop of Nidaros, and the following century saw a rapid expansion of the authority of both state and church. Together they augmented the public authority in society and thereby greatly increased the movement toward unity within the country. On the other hand, they competed for the same kind of power and income, and conflicts were inevitable. The church emerged victorious from the struggles with King Sverre and Magnus Lagabøte only to suffer a serious setback in the 1280's. The period 1280–1319 is dealt with in the last two chapters. Norway was then sufficiently consolidated and strong to play an active part in inter-Nordic affairs, although most often with negative results. The author, however, is not merely interested in

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the traditional political and ecclesiastical narrative of which the sources, especially the sagas, are quite abundant; rather he wants to analyze medieval society as a whole, but unfortunately the sources are too scanty for the earlier part of his period. More than a third of the book is therefore an analysis of the high medieval society at the end of the thirteenth century. Here his sources are the comprehensive laws from Magnus Lagabøte's time, the increased number of diplomas and retrospective conclusions from later and better evidence. He is aware of the pitfalls of this last method which he uses judiciously. He deals with topics like population figures, the distribution of land, towns and trade, jurisdiction, lawmaking, kingship, central and local administration, intellectual matters, and so forth. Of special interest is his discussion of the lay aristocracy, which changed its character during the High Middle Ages from a local upper class to a nobility loyally attached to the royal power and concentrated in the royal *hird*. The paucity of land largely explains the weak position of the aristocracy compared to other European countries.

The author is careful to point out where sources are inadequate and scholarly investigations lacking, and he also notes the divergent interpretations of modern scholarship at many points. The book has excellent bibliographies. The present volume is the first of a larger handbook planned in five volumes and intended to survey the whole field of Norwegian history.

Baltimore, Maryland JENNY M. JOCHENS

LA DONAZIONE DI COSTANTINO NEI GIURISTI MEDIEVALI. By *Domenico Maffei*. (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1964. Pp. 366. L. 3,500.)

SUBSTANTIAL and handsomely printed, this volume contains the results of the author's earlier studies on the subject, but supersedes them in depth, scope, and authority. Professor Maffei states in his opening remarks that it is not his purpose to go into the immediate aims of the *Donatio Constantini* and the related questions of how, when, and where it came into existence. He concerns himself chiefly with the use made of the document by the batteries of jurists, both civilians and canonists, that emperors and popes marshaled against each other throughout the later medieval centuries. He follows the course of this struggle in the three long chapters that comprise the body of the book, first from Gratian to the archdeacon, then from Jacques de Revigny to Bartolus of Sassoferrato, and finally from Baldus to the humanists.

The peculiarly "legal" usefulness of the *Constitutum* did not begin to emerge until the early eleventh century. Otto III, in rejecting certain Byzantine claims, denied the authenticity, but not the validity, of the document. It was not long, however, before the rules were more sharply drawn in this game of law, and the question of validity became a matter of major importance to medieval jurists. They then debated the juridical basis of Constantine's act. Could the Emperor make such a gift? Could the Pope accept it? Could it be revoked?

Nothing demonstrates the brilliance of this long episode in legal history better than the subtle changes of position, the introduction of new theories, and the extension of claims made by the participants in the contest. The *Constitutum* itself

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came to have little more significance than the ball in a soccer game; what counted most was the strategy and ability of the players. This comes out over and over again, as in the exchanges between dualists and hierocrats, in the interpretations offered by the French masters of Orléans, and in the contributions of the school of commentators that flourished in Italy and beyond the Alps in the first half of the fourteenth century. (See Stephan Kuttner's review of Maffei's recent study of Cynus, one of the Italian leaders of this school, *AHR*, LXX [Jan. 1965], 516.)

Conditions changed, however, and with them the character of the duel involving the donation. From the second half of the fourteenth century the great conflict between popes and kings was essentially at an end. The weariness already evident in the time of Bartolus increased, and originality of thought ceased to exist. Finally it was as if the soccer game were continued without any ball at all, the players going through apparently vigorous but utterly meaningless gestures. This only serves to underline a point suggested earlier: it was not the Donation of Constantine that was important in this struggle but the subtle play of brilliant legal argument. The dispute represented par excellence the intellectual aspect of the contest between empire and papacy. When that controversy was played out, the donation lost its meaning, and as Maffei has noted, this occurred before Lorenzo Valla's critical attack.

The book is admirable for its scholarly soundness as well as for its brilliant presentation. Maffei ransacked the libraries of Europe (and America!) in his search for manuscripts, and he has covered the critical studies of the subject with surpassing care and thoroughness. I wish only that he had included, for reference, a systematic bibliography and an index of concepts and facts as well as one of names and one of manuscripts.

Stanford University WILLIAM BARK

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER HERRSCHAFT TECK. By *Irene Gründer*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 1.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1963. Pp. xiii, 275, 34 plates. DM 17.80.)

HERRSCHAFTS- UND TERRITORIALVERHÄLTNISSE UM TÜBINGEN UND ROTTENBURG IM 11. UND 12. JAHRHUNDERT. Volume I, DIE FREIEN HERREN. By *Hans Jänichen*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 2.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1964. Pp. viii, 91. DM 12.50.)

THESE two studies constitute the introductory volumes of a series devoted to southwestern Germany in the Middle Ages, especially the twelfth to the fourteenth century. They are published under the editorship of H. Decker-Hauff and sponsored by the *Institut für geschichtliche Landeskunde* at the University of Tübingen. Both are concerned with the origins and development of manorial estates (*Herrschaften*) belonging to various free noble families in Swabia. Both writers pursue the genealogical approach and use dynastic structures as the basic frame for their narrative. They encounter comparable difficulties with respect to scanty and inaccessible source material, the scattered nature and uneven value of the

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records, and problems that cannot be solved satisfactorily on the strength of present knowledge.

The Jänichen study is devoted to the manorial and territorial relationships between the imperial county (*Pfalzgrafschaft*) of Tübingen and various adjacent manorial entities, including Hohenberg, Hürningen, and Rottenburg. It deals primarily with the social relations and territorial ambitions of a group of free noble families. In general it would appear that the office of *Pfalzgraf* lent the Tübinger a distinction that gave them a certain pre-eminence over other counts, but brought them no right of overlordship.

The Gründer volume is concerned with the economic conditions and family fortunes of the duchy of Teck rather than with territorial expansion and political development. This is the history of an impoverished family of the higher nobility, which first appears of ducal rank with Adalbert of Zähringen in 1187. The Zähringer properties formed a central core around which a complex of estates was gradually created in the region of the upper Neckar. A valuable adjunct of this treatise is a collection of 534 documents including letters on alienation of property, letters of sale, and various manorial obligations. The general impression suggests a transitional economy ranging from struggles over feudal rights in property to money payments for commodity indebtedness.

The significant role played by the petty nobles is a feature that receives attention in both studies. This emerging baronage of the *Edelfreie* or *Freienherren* is a peculiar German phenomenon. This class becomes attached to inferior administrative and military posts and is rewarded with stipends from the manors. It derives from the postservile status of the *ministeriales* or *minores* and illustrates the flexible nature of this semifeudal social structure. In sum these studies are contributions to the genre of local and regional history in a difficult and controversial area, illuminating the economic and social factors at work in medieval Germany and suggesting the emergence of patterns that may be common to medieval German experience.

Rice University FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

CHARTES ET DOCUMENTS POITEVINS DU XIII^e^ SIÈCLE EN LANGUE VULGAIRE. Volume II. Published by *Milan S. La Du*. [Archives Historiques du Poitou, Volume LVIII.] (Poitiers: Société des Archives Historiques du Poitou. 1963. Pp. ii, 470.)

THIS second volume of thirteenth-century documents in the Poitevin dialect follows the same general plan as its predecessor. Where the first volume included documents from the *départements* of the Vienne and of the Charente Maritime, and from the city of Poitiers itself, here documents from the *départements* of the Vendée, Deux-Sèvres, and Maine-et-Loire and from the Archives Nationales are included.

The documents in this volume range from acts of sale, gift, or exchange to leases, legal judgments, and agreements in disputes. There are even a feudal petition and some financial accounts submitted to the Count of Poitiers. One document commutes a death penalty by fire against a woman thief to a pilgrimage to

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Rocamadour, and another is an agreement to lease on shares for a vineyard with its press and winery. One document recognizes a debt incurred for the purchase of cloth. There are acts of consent for marriages and last wills and testaments. Many of the documents concern the properties of the abbey of Fontevrault. Some of them refer to Charles, count of Anjou, and Alphonse of Poitiers. One refers to the English Count of Pembroke.

An index of persons and places and a chronological listing of all documents in the two volumes complete the work. The index is somewhat incomplete. The errata of the first volume are corrected.

Marquette University CYRIL E. SMITH

A BARONIAL HOUSEHOLD OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *Margaret Wade Labarge*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. 235. $5.00.)

THE phrase "everyday life in a baronial household," used at times by the author, is more indicative of the contents and nature of the book than the title itself. In this case, the household was that of the wife of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, herself a sister of King Henry III of England, though her establishment was probably typical enough of the baronial class. Mrs. Labarge tells something of the organization and functioning of the baronial household, but she is not particularly interested in administrative history of the type usually associated with studies of the English royal household. It is apparent that she writes primarily for the general reader, but she has devised a workable solution to one part of the dilemma of addressing both general reader and scholar by providing a dual set of notes: footnotes here and there identifying such writers mentioned in the text as Gerald of Wales and defining such terms as scutage and knight's fee, and a second set at the end to indicate her sources.

The author has searched widely for material to supplement and interpret her basic source, the household roll of the Countess of Leicester, surviving in fragmentary form for the period February 19 to August 29, 1265. In addition to the obvious limitations imposed by the short period covered by this principal source, these were months of upheaval for the Countess during which she moved her household to Dover Castle for greater safety as fortune turned against the Earl and led him to his death later that year. Labarge recognizes the problem this raises as to whether the roll is entirely typical, but it might be questioned whether she has always made due allowance for this fact. In any event, she makes little attempt to place her findings in their political setting.

On the whole, she writes with a straightforward style that retains the reader's interest (my wife found the pages on menus and recipes fascinating), but it is no real criticism to say that the author does not equal Eileen Power in her ability to make the past come alive. Among much that is familiar, the scholar will find much that will add to his understanding of daily life, presented in a manner that is pleasant and entertaining.

Duke University CHARLES R. YOUNG

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A MEDIEVAL OXFORDSHIRE VILLAGE: CUXHAM, 1240–1400. By *P. D. A. Harvey*. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 194. $4.80.)

THE manor of Cuxham lies twelve miles southeast of Oxford in the country between the Thame River and the Chiltern Hills. In 1271 it was granted to Merton College by the founder, Walter de Merton. The manor occupied the whole of the small parish of Cuxham and so formed a complete economic and social unit. For once manor and village are coterminous. This circumstance, plus the fact that the Merton College muniment room contains an unusually full series of records of the administration of the manor, makes Cuxham an ideal subject for this intensive study that Mr. Harvey has limited to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although concerned with a single village, he has illuminated matters of general interest to the student of medieval economic and social life and at the same time avoided conclusions based on inadequate evidence or the repetition of information on matters about which he has found nothing new.

The result is a picture of the internal economy of Cuxham, of its inhabitants, and of its close relations with the college, its economic ties with neighboring villages, and its contacts with royal officials, a picture not usually available in such detail for a single manor. Of particular interest are the effects of the Black Death, especially the changes in the population and in agricultural patterns and the evidences of the dislocation of labor, which led to the cessation of labor services. Although a move away from demesne farming had been under way for some time, it was no doubt the decline in profits after 1349 that led the college in 1359 to abandon its active management of Cuxham and lease it regularly. Other matters illuminated by this study are the position of the reeve whose activities Harvey has been able to trace in some detail, the use of customary and measured acres, the extent of the manor's self-sufficiency, the distinctions existing between the older villeins and the more recent cottagers, and the effectiveness of bribery in reducing the assessed value of the demesne.

In this monograph on Cuxham the author has provided an interesting, readable, and fully documented account of an actual medieval village. Generalizations about the medieval manor cease to be abstractions, and instead the way of life at Cuxham becomes a reality. The volume is well supplied with maps, both detailed maps of the village and a map showing Cuxham as part of its region.

Princeton, New Jersey ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

CALENDAR OF THE LIBERATE ROLLS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Volume VI, 1267–1272, WITH APPENDICES 1220–1267. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. x, 349. $22.00 postpaid.)

AMONG the magnificent set of administrative records left behind by the medieval English monarchy are the Liberate Rolls, which have been published in calendars by the British government. With this sixth volume, they are now available from the time of King John through the reign of Henry III. The Liberate Rolls record writs authorizing payments by the Exchequer for various expenses of the court,

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and even though they are not a complete record of royal expenditures, they can provide valuable information. They offer bits of information about important persons, war and politics, royal patronage of the arts, foods and dress, and other details of life in the thirteenth century. Entries in this volume, covering the period following the barons' wars, reveal the part of Edward, the King's eldest son, in the government. Other entries record the King's purchases for the new shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, dedicated in the autumn of 1269. Many entries indicate thirteenth-century prices. There are payments recorded for the shoes that the King bought in large quantities to distribute to the poor.

These rolls will be most useful for students tracing the careers of royal servants. If the volume is to be truly useful to them, it must have a complete and accurate index. A random check of names indicates that the index of persons and places in this volume is more complete than in some other recent British editions of medieval sources. But the editors appear purposely to have made the index difficult to use for quick reference. In the text they aimed at keeping the forms of the proper names as close as possible to the original manuscript: "James de Luke" for James of Lucca and "Peter de Winton" in place of Peter of Winchester. Yet in the index James is found not under Luke, but under Lucca; and Peter is found not under Winton, but under Winchester. Sometimes, too, the most familiar form of a figure's name does not appear at all in the index. The papal legate, Cardinal Ottobuoni, is listed in the index of names only under his less familiar Italian surname of Fieschi. In the subject index, under the heading "Ecclesiastical Matters, cardinals," his name does not appear at all. But these complaints concerning the index are relatively minor when assessing the achievement of the editors. This volume of the Liberate Rolls is a valuable addition to the sources of English history made available by Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Florida State University RALPH V. TURNER

EARLY THOMISTIC SCHOOL. By *Frederick J. Roensch.* (Dubuque, Iowa: Priory Press. 1964. Pp. xxii, 351. $5.95.)

THE dual condemnation of a group of important theses in the system of Thomas Aquinas by Bishop Tempier of Paris and Archbishop Kilwardby of Canterbury is a familiar landmark in the history of Scholastic thought. Hasty and partisan as the two prelates may have been, the decrees of 1277 have been rightly regarded as a key event, the moment when the theological establishment formally registered its distrust of Aristotle. Nevertheless, disciples and others sprang to the defense of their vanished master, and the present volume aims at giving an account of the principal Thomists writing between 1277 and the canonization of St. Thomas in 1323.

True to his program of a "bio-bibliographical" work, the author gives an outline of the lives of five English and nine French Dominican Thomists, adding a list of their writings and a synopsis of some of their philosophical doctrines. These chapters summarize all previous work and, with the voluminous notes and bibliographies, will make the book an indispensable reference work on its topic. It is not, however, easily digestible. The historical narrative of the condemnations and of

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the teaching concerned is less complete and vivid than is to be found in existing works, and the bibliographical nature of the project is emphasized. Thus the text of the third chapter, 46 pages long (including 20 pages of catalogues) is followed by 37 pages containing 579 footnotes. Only a specialist could pronounce on the accuracy of the author's philosophical analysis; so far as can be seen, the bibliographical information is thorough and the printing very careful. In the biographical sections the author has consulted numerous sources old and new, and he presents the reader with data that have not in every case been critically assessed. Thus concerning William Macclesfield we are told that his birthplace may have been the "village" of Macclesfield "near and to the south of Chester." Macclesfield, now a sizable town, is thirty-six miles east by north of Chester, but "near and to the south of" Manchester, and the lengthy discussion that follows as to the ecclesiastical status of Chester is irrelevant, and in details incorrect. Whoever may have been responsible for the initial confusion, this could have been corrected by reference to a map of England.

London, England M. D. KNOWLES

CONSIGLIO DEI DIECI. DELIBERAZIONI MISTE, REGISTRI I–II (1310–1325). Edited by *Ferruccio Zago*. [Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia. Fonti per la storia di Venezia. Section 1, Archivi pubblici.] (Venice: the Comitato. 1962. Pp. xix, 271.)

THE Tiepolo-Querini rebellion of June 15, 1310, was the final episode in a series of civic upheavals that had been erupting with disturbing regularity since the late *dugento*. Already these alarming uprisings had led to drastic revisions in the Venetian political system. The *Consiglio dei Dieci* differed in its origins from these earlier constitutional (or unconstitutional) responses to crises in that its creation on July 10, 1310, represented an unequivocal answer to a particular historical event. Its purpose was "to preserve the liberty and peace of the subjects of the republic and protect them from the abuses of personal power." The stability of the polis and the durability of the republic stand as a tribute to the long and dishonorable history of this awesome *Consiglio*. This dread body, actually composed of seventeen members, reached the apogee of its powers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; it was only with the reforms of 1582 that its authority commenced to be dissipated. Indeed, one can readily understand the penchant of many an intelligent eighteenth-century commentator on the Venetian political system for the biological metaphor: like all magistracies, first the *Dieci* flourished then stasis, and, finally, dissolution and decay.

The present volume is a meticulous edition of the first two registers of the deliberations of the *Dieci* for the years between 1313 and 1325. The activities of this council involve a variety of matters, from paying a political assassin to granting permission to the children of a capital offender to enter a monastery. Much of these officials' time was occupied in the legal niceties of political trials, such as administering the properties of rebels' estates or granting the exile permission to change his place of sojourn. A reading of these numerous documents (over 550) leads to the conclusion that by the early *trecento*, the elite of Venice

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had already succeeded in creating a centralized political mechanism very different from the loose, amorphous medieval commune so common then in northern Italy. Indeed, with the coming of the 1320's, the Venetian patriciate had anticipated the stricter regimen of the Renaissance territorial state. No longer was the rule to be one of exhortation and persuasion coupled with personal influence; now justice (or injustice) was certain and deadly. With the publication of this volume, we have yet another commanding reason for studying *trecento* Venice. It would seem that here one can find a relationship between politics and culture that would provide us with a model for making assertions about the alleged uniqueness of the more famous latter-day civic humanism of early *quattrocento* Florence. Certainly civic art and classical studies were not immune to political imperatives in that forerunner of Italian cities to articulate a "ragione dello stato." Finally, *trecento* history abounds in political and constitutional studies, but there is no proper analysis of style in terms of the language, that is, rhetoric, symbol, or governing metaphor. These documents would be a fine starting place.

University of Rochester MARVIN B. BECKER

URSPRUNG UND WESEN DER "KNABENLESE" IM OSMANISCHEN REICH. By *Basilike D. Papoulia.* [Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, Number 59.] (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1963. Pp. x, 139. DM 15.)

MRS. Papoulia's doctoral dissertation is an exhaustive study on the *devşirme*—the forcible recruiting of Christian boys by the Ottoman Turks for the corps of the Janizaries and for service in the imperial palaces and administration through a levy on the subjugated Christian peoples. She has carefully researched the pertinent Greek, Turkish, and Western European sources on the origin of this institution and has reached some interesting but debatable conclusions. Those regarding the origin of the corps of the Janizaries and the dating of the *devşirme* will be considered.

The author ascribes the inspiration for the founding of the corps to the general phenomenon of slavery in the military and political institutions of the Islamic world, which dated back to the seventh century. The spread and persistence of the military slave system in Islamic societies over many centuries were due to the need of the rulers for an absolutely obedient military force for keeping their lieges (that is, the timar holders) in subordination. But this military system remained closer to its original purpose in the Turkish Empire because only there were the military slaves, that is, the Janizaries, successfully utilized in support of the dynasty against the decentralizing forces of the feudal lieges and the tribal groups; only there did the slaves never attempt to usurp the throne and displace the dynasty. In Ottoman Turkey "sovereignty had always remained in the hands of Âl-i 'Oṣmân." The author is wrong, however, in ascribing palace guard functions to the Janizaries. In conception, organization, and development they differed completely from the other Islamic military slave systems, which she argues had inspired their creation. While the source of inspiration is a debatable point, it is certain that the corps of the Janizaries was founded for different purposes. It may have served the role of a palace guard because of the peculiar slave-master rela-

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tion to the sultan, but this was not its *raison d'être*. It was essentially a shock troop organized for foreign conquest; it was the first true infantry of modern times, as I have shown elsewhere ("The Corps of the Janizaries," *Military Affairs*, VIII [Fall 1944], 177–204). The factors responsible for its creation were absent in the other Islamic societies: the political character of the state with its expansionist policy and the military element required to fill the urgent need of an organized and well-disciplined infantry to effectuate this policy of expansion.

For centuries the corps constituted the bulwark of the Ottoman armed forces, and to it the Empire owed its greatness and, of course, later its disintegration and decay. It was the *devşirme*, as the author correctly points out, that differentiated the corps of the Janizaries from the other Islamic military systems, but she is not aware of the true reasons for this. Religion played a minor part. Precisely, the aforementioned political and military factors were decisive, for they necessitated a systematic replenishment of the corps. It could not depend for its effectiveness on onetime tributes, or on the *pençe* contributions of Christian prisoners of war to the sultan, although these and other methods of recruiting were used. The main source of supply of men had to be a definite, dependable system of recruiting, and that was the purpose of the *devşirme*. The recruits, moreover, had to be drawn chiefly from one socioeconomic stratum: the agricultural population of the conquered Christian nations in Europe (although tributes were sometimes imposed on towns and cities), a segment of society accustomed to a regular and routine way of life, hence easily organized and easily disciplined.

But it is evident from this study that the dating of the *devşirme* and the founding of the corps have until now not been firmly established. The author presents a critical evaluation of the literature and concludes that both the *devşirme* and the corps were established by Orḫân in 1330. Most scholars have placed the founding of the corps under Orḫân, and the *devşirme* in the time of Murad II. My own conclusion was that the *devşirme* was instituted under Selim I. For the systematic recruiting for the corps developed gradually from experience and improved until it culminated in this unique institution.

Brooklyn, New York ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF PIERRE D'AILLY: THE VOLUNTARIST TRADITION. By *Francis Oakley*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 81.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 362. $8.50.)

WELL known for his achievements as diplomat, bishop, cardinal, philosopher, theologian, astronomer, geographer, and conciliarist, Pierre d'Ailly has never been studied with the definite aim of ascertaining the significance of his political theory. This has now been done by Mr. Oakley, who places D'Ailly squarely in the nominalist or voluntarist stream of Ockhamist thought and who establishes a connection between the philosophical-theological ideas and political thought of D'Ailly.

After a chapter disposing of D'Ailly as student, churchman, and theologian, Oakley tackles the more difficult problem of sifting out D'Ailly's principal contri-

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butions to political thought. From a clear and close analysis of the pertinent writings, he concludes that D'Ailly argued for a scheme of thought viewing the will of God as expressed in the principles of natural law and as accessible to the right reason of men. It then follows that political authority is instituted for the common good and that this good is best achieved by a mixed monarchy composed of oligarchic, democratic (in the medieval sense), and monarchic elements. When the political authority so established by the community of people does not properly fulfill its functions, then the community has the right under natural law to remedy the unsatisfactory condition, even to deposing the ruler. Such an argument is, of course, inherent in D'Ailly's conciliar position that "the community is the ultimate human source of political authority. It is because of this that it possesses the right to elect its ruler, either directly or indirectly via its representatives." In this connection, and to his credit, Oakley emphasizes that D'Ailly firmly rejected revolt and tyrannicide in favor of legal and institutional methods of the community to control the ruler.

One of the finest sections of the book is that on the sources and influence of D'Ailly's ideas. Although D'Ailly rarely mentioned Ockham and never cited John of Paris, Oakley believes that they were his main sources. He establishes this argument by comparison of key passages, such as those from D'Ailly's *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate* with those from John of Paris' *Tractatus de potestate regia et papali*. From this kind of research Oakley is able to conclude that most of D'Ailly's knowledge of Aristotle came through John of Paris who in turn learned much of his Aristotle from Aquinas. The *Defensor pacis* of Marsilius of Padua is ruled out, even as a minor source.

As a final theme, Oakley establishes the enduring influence of conciliarist ideas, especially those of D'Ailly, and their connection with the constitutional thought of the seventeenth century. Scholars have previously suggested this relation, but Oakley is the first to tie assertion to evidence and the first to argue persuasively that the political theory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should be understood less in terms of the upheaval of the Protestant Reformation and more in terms of earlier medieval political ideas.

This book is an important addition to the growing corpus of studies on late medieval political thought. Not the least of its contributions is a first complete edition of D'Ailly's *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis.*

Brown University BRYCE LYON

DIE HANSE UND DIE NORDISCHEN MÄCHTE IM MITTELALTER. By *Ahasver v. Brandt.* [Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, Number 102.] (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1962. Pp. 48. DM 3.90.)

AHASVER v. Brandt of the University of Heidelberg is a widely recognized specialist on late medieval Northern European social and economic history. In this brief address on the relationship of the Hanseatic cities with the Scandinavian powers during the Middle Ages, based on a variety of monographs and scholarly articles, the author refutes the well-known Pagel thesis that the Hanseatic cities

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constituted a formidable medieval power bloc as well as that of Professor Koht and others who saw in the Hanseatic League a spearhead of national German political aggression against the Scandinavian powers. Brandt insists that the Hanseatic League was, in fact, a very loose and fluid confederation of commercial centers brought and held together primarily by an identity of social, economic, and cultural interests. While admitting that most of the cities belonging to that association were dominated or greatly influenced by ethnic German merchant-settlers, he points out that this common ethnic kinship was purely coincidental. In fact, he claims that no clearly enumerated list of league membership has ever been found and that, on many occasions, as in the (Cologne) war coalition of 1367–1370 against Denmark, initiative and leadership were exercised by a diverse group of territorial princes and that individual Hanseatic cities were found engaged on each side of the conflict. In view of the extensive scholarly literature available on this area, much of it published since 1874 under the auspices of the society for Hanseatic history, it is astonishing to find such widely divergent points of view on such significant aspects of the subject.

Brandt must be commended for keeping his analysis of the Hanseatic cities within its proper late medieval frame of reference, in which dynastic and commercial interests and a deep sense of class solidarity are set into the forefront, and for not reading modern concepts of national statehood and ethnic consciousness into the political, social, and economic life of that ambiguous unincorporated community.

Pennsylvania State University ALFRED G. PUNDT

LES DOUANES DE GÊNES, 1376–1377. In two volumes. By *John Day*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI[e] Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volume XVII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1963. Pp. xxxix, 538; 544–983.)

STUDIES published under the auspices of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* represent much of the best contemporary scholarship in the economic history of medieval and modern Europe. These volumes by John Day, an able American scholar, are no exception to the general standards of quality and scholarly utility established by earlier publications in the series.

Day's work presents the remaining records of an unusual customs duty, the *Ambasciata Anglie,* levied on nearly all sectors of Genoese commerce from August 1374 to December 1377. The proceeds from this tariff were evidently intended to pay the expenses of a special mission sent to England. The author points out that this is not an isolated example of such unique fiscal practice; he has found references to an *Ambasciata Francie* in 1340, an *Ambasciata Yspanie* in 1376, and an *Ambasciata Alexandrie* in 1386. The earliest of the three great registers that contain the records of the *Ambasciata Anglie* is lost, but Day has edited the remaining two which are almost complete for the years 1376 and 1377. Since they record not only sums paid in tariff, but the market value of the item taxed (in most instances), the commodity itself, its point of origin, the merchant's name, and often the name of the mariner on whose vessel the cargo was shipped

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as well, these documents should prove useful to scholars of diversified interests. Researchers who are primarily concerned with the activities of individual merchants and groups of merchants should find them no less interesting than those whose concerns are more rigidly economic and statistical. Day himself promises to undertake a more detailed commentary on these registers in a separate study.

In preparing these volumes Day has also consulted a great number of related unpublished materials, and he has compressed the results of his research into a brief introduction in which he discusses the history and structure of Genoese customs and public finance in the crisis filled fourteenth century. He describes the numerous Genoese customs duties, domestic and foreign, their administration, the practice of "farming" or leasing their collection; he comments as well on the political crises of the period, their effects upon commerce and finance, the growth of the public debt, the demographic regression after the Black Death; and he concludes with an analysis of the years 1376–1377. These observations are pointedly illustrated by many effective graphs and charts, which in themselves represent the distillation of much research, but one regrets the brevity of the text. The author must be especially commended, however, for equipping these volumes with three excellent indexes: one of personal names, a second of place names, and the third a most welcome index-glossary.

Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point RICHARD D. FACE

LES ÉTATS DE LANGUEDOC AU XV^e^ SIÈCLE. By *Henri Gilles.* [Bibliothèque méridionale, Second Series, Number 40.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat. 1965. Pp. 361. 36 fr.)

THE Estates of Languedoc were probably the most important provincial assembly of the *ancien régime.* A study of these Estates during the crucial years of the fifteenth century is very welcome, especially when it has been done with such care and intelligence. M. Gilles has found a surprising amount of new material (including fifty-nine lists of *doléances,* for the most part unpublished), and it is unlikely that much more will be discovered. It is also unlikely that there will be many changes in his careful analysis of the functioning and development of the Estates.

He does not answer—perhaps no one can answer—the old question why central and local assemblies, after insisting on their right to consent to taxation, yielded so meekly to royal claims to unlimited rights of imposition. His material does suggest some answers: respect for the king (probably greater in France than in England), the very real emergencies of the period, the infrequency and weakness of central assemblies, and, perhaps most important of all, the loss of interest in the Estates by the nobility. This last point is especially important for Languedoc; the nobles cut their attendance to a minimum, and the towns were left to run the Estates. In no country or province could towns alone stand up against the king.

The Estates of Languedoc showed remarkable skill in adapting themselves to the difficult conditions of the second half of the century. If they could not refuse consent, they could fight for equitable assessments carried out, as far as possible, by local men. Thus the number of exemptions was kept low, the *élus* were ex-

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cluded, the *aides* were replaced by the *equivalent,* and local assemblies retained some control over the repartition of taxes.

These results, and others equally important, were achieved by good organization, by careful drafting of petitions, by sending able men to Paris to plead with the council or before the Parlement. In some ways, by 1500 the Estates of Languedoc were only a chamber of commerce, but they were a chamber supported by the moral authority of the great towns and the skill of the lawyers of the south. It is interesting to compare the *doléances* of the Estates with the petitions of the Commons in England. The king of France could ignore, amend, modify, or accept the *doléances;* the king of England could only accept or reject a fixed text. This was not wholly to the advantage of the English Commons. I can think of no Commons petition of the fifteenth century that affected the structure of government as much as did some of the requests of the Estates of Languedoc, for example, the request to establish a parlement for the Midi. By persistent argument the Estates mitigated oppressive actions of the government and secured economic benefits (or what they thought were economic benefits) for the propertied classes of Languedoc. That is why they endured.

Princeton University JOSEPH R. STRAYER

MASTER NICHOLAS OF DRESDEN: THE OLD COLOR AND THE NEW. SELECTED WORKS CONTRASTING THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH AND THE ROMAN CHURCH. Edited, annotated, and translated by *Howard Kaminsky et al.* [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 1.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 93. $2.50.)

THIS book is the product of the joint efforts of Professor Kaminsky and three of his graduate students who transcribed, collated, and translated two works of the Hussite reformer Master Nicholas of Dresden. The long introductory essay, which fits Nicholas into the Hussite movement, is Kaminsky's; one of his three students prepared the indexes. Not all such joint efforts have been successful, but this one has. In fact, it might well serve as a model and inspiration to similar seminar groups. For the instructor and students worked together as a unit, checking each other's efforts and producing in the end not just another sample of arid scholarship, but a work of considerable significance in the study of Hussitism. The organization of the book is admirable, from the introductory essay to the photographs of several manuscripts the group pored over. The accurate yet excellent translation of the Latin merits special commendation.

Of Nicholas of Dresden little information remains. He probably attended the University of Prague, but came into prominence as a member of a group of German reformers known as the "Dresden School." These men appear to have taken refuge at Prague about 1412 where they assumed an important role in the development of the reform movement associated with Huss. Though Germans, they shared the admiration of their Czech fellow reformers for Wyclif and Huss, and it was Nicholas' sympathy for these two men that accounts for the survival of his writings. It is the earliest of his writings that Kaminsky and his students have

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edited and translated, namely, *The Tables Of The Old And New Color,* and *The Customs And Rites Of The Primitive And Modern Churches.* The theme of the two is similar, that is, the shocking contrast between the purity and Christlike character of the early Church over against the corruption of the present institution which had grown progressively less Christlike since the time of Constantine and his Donation. Thus Nicholas presents on the one hand the picture of the humble Christ washing the feet of his disciples, as opposed on the other by that of the pope as antichrist surrounded by whores. Other of Nicholas' writings such as his sermons and the *Dialogue On Purgatory* proposed a program of reform and revolution that the Hussite party at Prague rejected as too radical, although the Taborites found much in them they could adopt. Nicholas left Prague in 1416 and was probably martyred shortly after at the hands of the Inquisition in Meissen.

Pennsylvania State University JOSEPH DAHMUS

PETER VON PULKAU UND DIE WIEDEREINFÜHRUNG DES LAIENKELCHES: LEBEN UND WIRKEN EINES WIENER THEOLOGEN IN DER ZEIT DES GROSSEN SCHISMAS. By *Dieter Girgensohn.* [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 12.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 265. DM 27.)

ON June 15, 1415, the Council of Constance forbade laymen to receive Communion in both kinds. This was the first general legislation on the question, which was then less than a year old. Although Communion by bread alone had been practiced in special cases since early times, its use by the laity is first attested in the 1140's. Slowly this form of lay Communion spread until by about 1300 it was the common custom of Latin Christendom. Huss himself had not attacked the practice in Bohemia, and when one of his followers, Jacobellus of Mies, denounced it in a treatise written in October or November 1414, the reformer was already on his way to Constance. In Bohemia double Communion rapidly became popular, and the council hastened to define the official doctrine against this new deviation. Although John Gerson recalled that "many meetings and frequent deliberations" had preceded the decision, the work of the commission that prepared the decree has only been known from the six *Conclusiones doctorum* which were incorporated in it nearly verbatim.

Now the obscure origins of the decree are illuminated by Girgensohn's publication of a treatise written during the last weeks of May 1415 by Peter of Pulkau in refutation of Jacobellus. Whether it was an official report or a private polemic, we can be sure that Pulkau's arguments were decisive at the council because comparison proves them to be the source of the doctors' conclusions. Thus the treatise is our best guide to the Scholastic background of the decision. To place Peter's polemic in its historical context, Girgensohn first reviews the origins of the Catholic position by assembling the fragmentary liturgical evidence on the development of Communion in one kind and the justifications for the custom in Scholastic sacramental theology. Next he discusses the revival of the lay chalice in Bohemia and the events leading up to the decree. The result is a valuable summary of the work

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of specialists, but the author stresses that the history of the lay chalice has yet to be written. This broad survey is accompanied by a meticulous monograph on the life and works of Peter of Pulkau, drawn from the records of the University of Vienna, where he studied and taught arts and later theology. Among his works, Girgensohn catalogues thirty-four letters from Constance, the treatise, and forty-one other items, including lectures, questions, sermons, and another polemic. The Council of Constance, which he attended as one of Vienna's delegates, was the one great event in his career. This study is a fundamental monograph on the origins of the Catholic position in the Utraquist controversy and doubtless the definitive life of Peter of Pulkau.

University of Kentucky RICHARD KAY

THE LIFE OF THOMAS HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY AND SECOND DUKE OF NORFOLK, 1443–1524. By *Melvin J. Tucker.* [Studies in European History, Number 4.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 170. Glds. 24.)

IT can be argued that the Howards formed the most important nonroyal family in Tudor England. Springing improbably from John Howard, first duke of Norfolk, who died fighting against Henry VII at Bosworth, the line came to include two of Henry VIII's councilors, two of his wives, a famous sonneteer, and Elizabeth's sole duke, executed for treason in 1572. Modern study of the family began a few years ago with Lacey Baldwin Smith's life of Catherine Howard; his student, Melvin J. Tucker, has now provided a biography of Catherine's grandfather, the second Duke.

Tucker's book, more broadly conceived than the title indicates, narrates John Howard's rise under Edward IV and his employment by Richard III, perhaps as executioner of the Princes in the Tower, who stood between Howard and the Mowbray lands as well as between Richard and a secure throne. It shows how John's son Thomas, at first attainted and imprisoned by Henry VII, acquired the King's trust, the title Earl of Surrey, and the post of lieutenant of the north. His subsequent services to Henry VIII, as soldier and treasurer, confidant and diplomat, and his regaining of the dukedom are chronicled rather too briefly for entire satisfaction. What is probably the best chapter offers a graphic, even exciting, account of the Battle of Flodden.

Throughout the biography Tucker has painted in some detail the colorful background against which Howard moved, but has given only a blurred portrait of his subject. This weakness is due in part to overreliance on secondary accounts and printed sources. Tucker was prevented from consulting family papers since the muniment room at Arundel Castle inexcusably remains closed to scholars, but he could have made greater use of materials in the Public Record Office and of family wills. These last, incidentally, might give some idea of the family's financial position, a matter of great interest that Tucker skirts entirely.

Finally, Tucker has been poorly served by his publisher's editorial staff. I counted no less than six elementary slips in grammar and fourteen typographical errors.

University of Texas STANFORD E. LEHMBERG

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CULTURA MOLDOVENEASCĂ ÎN TIMPUL LUI ŞTEFAN CEL MARE: CULEGERE DE STUDII [Moldavian Culture in the Time of Ştefan Cel Mare: Collection of Studies]. Edited by *M. Berza*. [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Institutul de Istorie.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne. 1964. Pp. 682. Lei 62.)

CONTAINED in this elaborate collection of studies on Moldavian civilization in the fifteenth century are essays of the highest caliber. They are significant not only because of uniformly superior scholarship but also because they represent an apparent break with dogmatic Marxism in Rumanian historical writing. Nowhere in approximately seven hundred pages are polemical elements to be found; nor is the evidence twisted to fit into preconceived or dictated concepts.

The thirteen essays treat a multitude of problems related to medieval Moldavian culture during the reign of Stephen the Great (1457–1504). The student of European medieval history will be particularly interested in Eugen Stănescu's masterful study on the written culture in the Age of Stephen and Al. Elian's synthesis of Byzantine influences on Moldavian civilization in the fifteenth century. The somewhat more specialized essays on urban culture by R. Manolescu and O. Iliescu's essay on Moldavian coinage refine hypotheses and theories first suggested by the venerable Nicolae Iorga and later by the several authors of the mammoth synthesis *Istoria Romîniei*. The connoisseur of Rumanian civilization will rejoice in the extremely detailed, beautifully illustrated, and entirely original studies on Moldavian art, religious and secular, contributed by C. Nicolescu, S. Ulea, T. Voinescu, I. D. Ştefănescu, and M. A. Musicescu. Two excellent studies on Moldavian secular and religious manuscripts by E. Lăzărescu and M. Berza precede the final and possibly most valuable contribution: Ş. Papacostea's bibliography of the Age of Stephen the Great. All those concerned with the history of Eastern Europe and objective and thorough scholarship are indebted to M. Berza, the editor of this outstanding volume.

Wayne State University STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

GEORGE OF BOHEMIA: KING OF HERETICS. By *Frederick G. Heymann*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 671. $15.00.)

THIS first full-scale treatment in English of George of Poděbrady, the Utraquist king of Bohemia (1458–1471), and work of distinguished scholarship is not only a careful synthesis of the vast Czech and German historiography of the subject (especially the writings of Palacký, Bachmann, and Urbánek), of the published and unpublished primary sources, and of the author's own extensive research on this period. It is also a patient re-examination of numerous disputed issues (for example, George as suspected regicide, George's secret coronation oath) and a re-evaluation of the significance of the reign as a whole. Though clearly a defense of George against the traditional portrayal of this "perfidious heretic" by Catholic and German authors, Heymann's own characterization of him is skillfully drawn and full of nuances. A clever diplomat in gaining the throne and securing widespread recognition of his royal election, George was often gulled by his junior, Matthias Corvinus. A "modern" statesman in his famous proposal for a "League

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of Princes," a lay dominated European state system free of papal interference, he was also thoroughly feudal in his personal ambitions, which reached as high as the dignity of the King of the Romans. Tolerant to his Catholic subjects, he began the persecution of the Unity of Czech Brethren. Above all, George appears as one who was and aspired to be a mediator for peace, at home and abroad. He arbitrated successfully between the princes of Central Europe, and in Bohemia he held firmly to the coexistence of the Utraquist majority and the Catholic minority, on the basis of the Basel Compacts of 1436. As a successful "King of Both Kinds of People," he ensured the continued existence of Hussitism in Bohemia for a century and a half after his death. Politically, his reign was also fateful for the Czech nation. With him died the last opportunity to establish a native dynasty and "Tudorism," a strong but constitutional monarchy, in the land. The noble dominated *Ständesstaat* that followed could not meet the challenge of Habsburg absolutism.

Lengthy as it is, Heymann's account is chiefly concerned with George's political and religious involvements—his diplomatic negotiations and wars with his own vassals, the papacy, the Holy Roman Empire, and Hungary. We learn comparatively little about domestic social, economic, and cultural developments during the reign. Moreover, sometimes the scholarly virtues of the work necessarily interfere with its literary qualities. Heymann's painstaking approach to his complex subject with its tangled skein of medieval relationships and his resolve to cite, evaluate, and reconcile his numerous sources at times detract from the readability of the text. The book concludes with a valuable essay on Poděbradian historiography and a very full bibliography. Like its predecessor, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution,* this must be rated as a major Western contribution to the history of the Hussite period in Bohemia and of Central Europe in the fifteenth century.

University of California, Los Angeles JOSEPH FREDERICK ZACEK

Modern Europe

1000 JAHRE DEUTSCH-ITALIENISCHER BEZIEHUNGEN: DIE ERGEBNISSE DER DEUTSCH-ITALIENISCHEN HISTORIKERTAGUNGEN IN BRAUNSCHWEIG (1953), GOSLAR (1956), SIENA (1957), BAMBERG (1958) UND ERICE (1959). [Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Schulbuchinstituts, Number 5.] (Brunswick: Albert Limbach Verlag. 1960. Pp. 223.)

FASCHISMUS—NATIONALSOZIALISMUS: ERGEBNISSE UND REFERATE DER 6. ITALIENISCH-DEUTSCHEN HISTORIKERTAGUNG IN TRIER. [Schriftenreihe des Internationalen Schulbuchinstituts, Number 8.] (Brunswick: Albert Limbach Verlag. 1964. Pp. 196.)

THE first of these two volumes includes a summary of German and Italian history and interrelations from the early Middle Ages to 1945, a result of five conferences of historians from the two countries held between 1953 and 1959. The purpose is

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to provide lines of agreement for teachers of the subject. The two countries are treated together, with emphasis largely on political history, up to the late sixteenth century. From that time, there is more stress on cultural history and, naturally, the need to deal separately, in brief, alternating discussions, with each country's internal development. Italy's entrance and its military role in the First World War are judiciously dealt with, as are the partly parallel themes of Fascism and National Socialism. Resistance during the Second World War in both countries receives considerable attention. In the main, the difficult task of dealing with this enormously complex topic is successfully accomplished. Seven short essays by German historians treat Italian cultural influences in specific regions. Karl Bosl writes of medieval contacts with Bavaria, while the other contributions concern influences in later times, especially artistic and musical, with interesting details on some northern German cities: Dresden, Berlin, Potsdam. Considering the context, it is not surprising if Italian influences are sometimes overweighted.

The second volume, consisting of papers by three historians from each country presented at a conference in Trier in 1963, has essays by Alberto Monticone on Italo-German relations in the First World War and by Edgar Rosen on Francesco Nitti's "ambivalence" toward Germany. The remaining papers concentrate on aspects of Fascism and National Socialism. Wilhelm Alff's discussion of the *Associazione Nazionalista Italiana,* which appears, little changed, in the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (XIII [Jan. 1965], 34–63), is an illuminating account of that organization, founded in 1910 under the leadership of Enrico Corradino, "who first proclaimed to Italy the ideas of a new nationalism." Ernst Nolte, author of *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche,* considers Hitler's and Mussolini's views of National Socialism and Fascism. Two Italian historians, Ettore Anchieri and Carlo Francovich, present studies of German-Italian relations during the Second World War and of the Italian resistance. All six papers have something worth saying, with Nolte's essay being particularly informative. Both volumes offer German and Italian texts of all chapters.

Harvard University REGINALD H. PHELPS

THE CROWD IN HISTORY: A STUDY OF POPULAR DISTURBANCES IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, 1730–1848. By *George Rudé.* [New Dimensions in History: Essays in Comparative History.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1964. Pp. ix, 281. Cloth $5.95, paper $2.95.)

ANYONE who knows Professor Rudé's studies of crowd action in the French Revolution, the "Wilkes and Liberty" episodes, and the Gordon Riots will look forward to his more general discussion of the crowd. While this volume contains much interesting information and speculation, the total effect is sadly disappointing.

The problem is not all of the author's making. The book is much too short, its length clearly dictated by the canons of the series in which it appears. But, facing an unenviable procrustean task, Rudé made a fundamental error in surgical strategy. Part I, "The Crowd in Action," consists of summary accounts of impor-

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tant and typical popular outbreaks, each of ten to fourteen pages—not counting maps and illustrations or the notes that the publisher exasperatingly put at the ends of chapters, while keeping a few at the bottoms of pages. That is not enough space to be really informative about any one outbreak, while a dozen such accounts, scattered on either side of the Channel with no very convincing rationale behind the arrangement, create a disastrous impression of scrappiness. Even worse, less than a third of the book is left for the analytical chapters; they are too short and too few to follow through adequately with the many interesting suggestions they contain. Surely the limitation on space required a largely analytical account; while such a decision would inevitably have involved Rudé and his readers in allusion, it would be a small price to pay for what his erudition and authority might have given us.

Defective as exposition, the book also fails as comparative history, that "good thing" to which the series is devoted. At the end of Chapter II, there are two pages of effective and enlightening comparison of French and English rural rioting. But this is not the usual mode of proceeding. What Rudé has done is to posit a single phenomenon of "the crowd" and to illustrate it from the history of two countries: one might call it additive rather than comparative history. And one facet of the inquiry that a consistent comparative approach would have emphasized is largely neglected. Rudé is interested in who made up the crowds and what motivated them, important questions to which he has contributed much in his earlier studies. But he is not very much interested in institutions, though they are probably the most important and accessible material of comparative history. The forms of local government or police are barely touched on: to take the most obvious example, it seems incredible that a study of English rioting should mention the Riot Act of 1715 only twice in so cursory a way that the inexpert reader would neither understand it nor attribute any importance to it.

It is possible too that had Rudé paid more attention to the institutional context of rioting in the two countries, his distinction between preindustrial and industrial social protest would fall or would have to be seriously revised. He never really argues the case for the distinction; he asserts it. Perhaps it is a correct distinction, though the dividing line seems dangerously elastic and though there is ground for suspicion when he has to invoke "a hangover from the past" to explain the Corn Law Riots of 1815 or the Bristol Riots of 1831. Whatever part industrialism played in changing the pattern of protest was mediated through the institutions and customs that emerged in a vast cultural revolution separating modern civilization from what went before—a revolution involving education, discipline, urbanism, religion, technology, the nature of the family, the uses of leisure, the expectation of life, and many other ponderable and imponderable things. Even a book confined to "pre-modern" social protest must deal with these themes; otherwise the book will be, as this one is, a very partial contribution to our understanding of the historical phenomena to which Rudé has so rightly and in some respects so fruitfully called our attention.

Columbia University R. K. Webb

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DIE FRANZÖSISCHE DIPLOMATIE DER RESTAURATION UND DEUTSCHLAND, 1814–1830. By *Karl Hammer*. [Pariser historische Studien, Number 2.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1963. Pp. 252. DM 32.)

Upon the return to peace in 1815 the restored Bourbons very quickly established normal relations with the states of the German Confederation. French diplomatic representatives with the rank of minister were sent to Frankfurt, Munich, Hamburg, Hanover, Kassel, Darmstadt, Berlin, Dresden, and Stuttgart. At the outset these representatives were mainly aristocrats who had followed the Bourbons into exile, but in the course of time the predominating type came to be men who, after making a career under Napoleon, successfully worked their way back to favor in the new regime. Some of them had strong personalities. As a group they were conscientious reporters, and one of them, the Swabian pastor's son, K. F. Reinhard, who entered the French diplomatic service as a protégé of Sieyès and Talleyrand in 1792 and served with only brief interruptions until 1832, was a man of outstanding qualities. (He is now mainly known in Germany for his voluminous correspondence with Goethe.) From 1815 to 1829, Reinhard was the French minister to the German *Bundestag* in Frankfurt.

Herr Hammer had the good idea to make these reports of French diplomats the basis for an examination of French policy in Germany during the Restoration, and he has produced a well-organized, readable monograph documented by extensive quotations from the sources. The most valuable and interesting part of the volume is on the period after 1826 when Russia, Great Britain, and Austria were preoccupied with the Near East, and Germany was outside the focus of their interest. The French sought intermittently to strike a bargain with Russia and Prussia, whereby France, in return for supporting Russian ambitions against Turkey, would obtain Belgium and revisions of its eastern frontiers. Prussia was to be bought off by concessions in central Germany.

While the French pursued such will-o'-the-wisps, the German states took the first important steps toward the *Zollverein,* partly in defense against the high tariff policy of France itself. The French were aware of the implications in terms of Prussian political aggrandizement, but their efforts to halt these developments were halfhearted and ineffective. Hammer does not press his own judgment of these events, but he seems to suggest that if the Bourbons had concentrated on the relatively modest Talleyrand-Reinhard objective of securing clients and building up a "third force" in Germany, they would have accomplished more than by seeking grandiose territorial revisions.

Stuttgart, Germany Paul R. Sweet

ECONOMIC GROWTH IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN, 1851–1950. By *Charles P. Kindleberger*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 378. $8.95.)

Beyond their differences in content and emphasis, current theories about economic growth are alike, as to method, in at least two respects. First, they are almost all essentially "partial" analyses since they fix on some aspect of the economic process as the crucial determinant of growth or decline, such as capital formation, techno-

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logical change, resource availability, market structure, foreign trade, and so on. Secondly, except for the (possibly selective) evidence adduced by their proponents, they are not subjected to empirical testing of a sustained and systematic sort.

Professor Kindleberger has here undertaken the considerable task of doing something about the second point directly, and, by implication, also about the first. The approach is fairly straightforward: there is laid out on the laboratory table a full century of economic development in two important and well-documented instances, those of France and Britain; each of a dozen "partial" explanations is then examined against the economic history of the two countries to see whether its presence and timing correlate with growth or decline in economic activity. The results of the "experiment" are interesting and valuable, though largely negative.

It is impossible in this space to do even approximate justice to the careful scrutiny made of each type of explanation. Besides those listed earlier, there are: social determinants, entrepreneurship, government, agricultural change, urbanization, and lead- and lag-sectors. For the purpose of this review, several samples of conclusions reached must suffice.

The argument, for example, that natural resource deficiencies account for the slowing down of growth rates is found to be, by itself, insufficient. While the timing of resource deficiencies in Britain corresponds roughly with the slowing of its growth rate as compared to those of Germany and the US, the rest of the evidence leads Kindleberger to conclude tentatively that "inadequate resources neither prevented economic growth in France after 1850, nor were responsible for any loss of leadership in Britain after 1875."

As for growth models based on demographic factors, no clear-cut connection, whether short-run or secular, is found between larger population and greater prosperity. Moreover, the author suspects "that we are in the presence of collinearity, that population changes in response to other influences which also affect economic growth. . . ."

Nor are capital formation or its foreign investment, perennial favorites in growth analysis, found to be satisfactory determinants of growth or decline. Neither in the French or the English experience studied "is the case convincing that economic development was held down in any critical way by lack of capital. . . . It is very hard to make an argument that the supply of capital, or the fact of its export, was responsible for slowing down the British and French rates of growth."

The Rostow growth stages model, despite its greater generality, fares no better by this test. This is especially true in the case of England, where there would appear to be an extraordinary delay in passing from "technical maturity" to the stage of mass consumption—from 1851 to post-1935, a gap of no less than eighty-five years—leading the author to comment that "Any system of stages that applies somewhere must apply to the country that pioneered the Industrial Revolution. The attempt to rationalize the gap between maturity and mass consumption results less in support of the existence of a gap than a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory of stages, beyond the initial discontinuity of the take-off."

In sum, this thorough search of the relevant literature, with its excellent bibliography, fails to give substantial support to any of the current theories of economic growth. With all of its avowed imbalances and other shortcomings, it is

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nonetheless compelling reading for both economists and historians who must, in the last analysis, ponder whether the inability to explain economic growth adequately lies with the scientific incapacity of economic history, the absence of a sufficiently general theory of growth, or even the intractability of change itself.

Fordham University LOUIS M. SPADARO

DER DREIBUND NACH DEM STURZE BISMARCKS. Volume II, DER KAMPF UM DIE WELTHERRSCHAFT, 1895–1902. By *Helge Granfelt.* [Schriften der fahlbeckschen Stiftung, Volume XLVII.] (Lund: CWK Gleerup. 1964. Pp. 364. Kr. S. 45.)

THIS is the second volume of a history of the Triple Alliance. The first volume, covering the Bismarck era, was published in 1925. The author has made use of the recently published Italian documents, and of unpublished documents from the Public Record Office and the Austrian and Swedish State Archives. He has cited the most important published document collections, numerous memoirs and monographs, and an impressive number of periodicals. Yet there is nothing new in this book either by way of information or interpretation. Dully and unimaginatively it covers the familiar ground that Professor Langer tilled much more thoroughly and effectively thirty years ago. Notes and bibliography are useful, but not always accurate.

Michigan State University NORMAN RICH

THE NEUTRAL ALLY: NORWAY'S RELATIONS WITH BELLIGERENT POWERS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR. By *Olav Riste.* [Scandia Books.] (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1965. Pp. 295. N. kr. 18.)

ONE cannot help observing that this book, in a sense, appears a quarter of a century too late. Had Norwegian national leaders in the 1930's been able to digest the lessons it astutely draws from their country's World War I experience, they would surely have adopted a different policy toward the growing international crisis of their time. For Olav Riste's thesis is that Norwegian neutrality became increasingly precarious during the First World War and was unlikely to survive in another Anglo-German conflict. Norway, however, counted on neutrality a second time, neglected its military posture, avoided alliances, and lost its World War II neutral status in just eight months. But the timing of this work's appearance obviously is no fault of its author who only recently received his doctorate from Oxford and here presents his dissertation.

Dividing his material into two parts, Riste traces in detail Norway's prosperous neutrality in 1914–1916 and its eclipse in 1916–1918. In essence, Norwegian economic vulnerability to the British blockade induced the country gradually to abandon under heavy pressure its neutral rights until it found itself, as the title implies, more a nonbelligerent ally of Britain than a genuine neutral. Norwegian diplomacy during this period does not earn the highest marks from the author, though the trend hardly appears reversible. Indeed, had Woodrow Wilson, after the entry of the United States into the war, not insisted upon Allied respect for what re-

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mained of Norway's neutrality, the latter undoubtedly would have eroded further. Certainly in the German decision to invade Norway in 1940 was a determination to forestall a repetition of the events Riste so competently describes.

The author has made extensive use of unpublished Norwegian and German documents, as well as of many sources published since Wilhelm Keilhau undertook his pioneer study in 1927 and Paul Vigness his sparsely documented effort in 1932. The result is a fresh view of Norwegian wartime history. The country is seen neither as a virtuous neutral struggling for high principle nor as a crass profiteer reaping from the misfortunes of the belligerents. Instead, Norway emerges as a small country anxious to remain free of war, but compelled by its economy to continue trading wherever feasible, while its diplomats pragmatically grappled with each successive difficulty inherent in this situation. *The Neutral Ally,* therefore, marks its author as the latest and foremost authority on this subject.

Pennsylvania State University KENT FORSTER

PROBLEM POLSKO-NIEMIECKI W TRAKTACIE WERSALSKIM: PRACA ZBIOROWA [The Polish-German Problem in the Treaty of Versailles: A Collective Work]. Edited by *J. Pajewskiego et al.* [Dzieje Polskiej Granicy Zachodniej, Number 3.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1963. Pp. 652. Zł. 110.)

THIS collective work on the Polish-German problem in the Versailles Treaty is the first such study, apart from memoirs by participants, some older works, and the recent monograph of Dr. R. Bierzanek on *Poland in the Political Conceptions of the Western Powers* (1964), to be published in Poland. The only exhaustive work on the subject written to date by a Polish scholar is Dr. T. Komarnicki's *The Rebirth of the Polish Republic* (1957).

Most of the authors are young scholars who have made their reputations in the last ten years or so. Jerzy Krasuski, who contributes three chapters here, is the author of two volumes on Polish-German relations in 1919–1925 and 1926–1932 (1962, 1964). K. Skubiszewski, who writes on the legal aspects of the Polish-German problem, is an established young specialist in international law. Henryk Batowski, a prolific senior scholar, is the exception to the general age group. His book on the European diplomatic crisis of 1938–1939 (1962) is one of his outstanding publications. The editors, too, except for Krasuski, are senior scholars.

The organization of this book gives some indication of the interests of Polish scholarship in the area. The most extensive contribution is by the economist J. Zajda, on "The Economic Consequences of the Versailles Treaty for Poland." Next in size is Krasuski's chapter on "The Role of the League of Nations in Shaping Polish-German Relations," and third is Skubiszewski's sketch of "The Legal Aspects of the Polish-German Problem." Z. Wroniak's chapter on "The Role of the Polish Delegation in Paris in the Establishment of the Polish Western Frontier" is valuable for its extensive use of Polish primary sources.

Karel Lapter, author of a book on the Polish-German Nonaggression Pact of 1934 (1962), opens the volume with a chapter analyzing the various historical and polemical views on the Versailles Treaty prevailing in Poland and in the West.

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As expected, he opts for a Marxist interpretation which, though broadened in comparison with the pre-1956 period, is still a skilled exercise in fitting facts to theory. Lapter concludes that the Communist attitude toward Versailles as the shoring up of the capitalist system was basically correct, despite major tactical errors (?). Despite some excursions against Pilsudski for his lack of interest in the western frontier (H. Zielinski on "The Views of Polish Political Parties 1914–18"), which fail to stress the tactical nature of his views at that time, there are some interesting points on which contemporary Polish scholars are in agreement with prewar opinion. Thus Krasuski writes with sympathy of the resentment felt in Poland against the one-sided Minorities Treaties and the efforts of the Polish government to obtain universal acceptance of minorities' protection.

It is somewhat surprising, if one accepts the stated limitations of this book, to see the inclusion of two chapters on Russian wartime policy toward Poland and Russian public opinion on this subject, and one on the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. While the chapters on Russian attitudes toward Poland are interesting, particularly for their use of Russian archives, one might wonder why a chapter on the problem of Polish eastern frontiers in 1919 was not included. There is no section on the Danzig problem, though it is partially treated in various chapters. The editorial note takes pains to explain that the authors do not share the general tendency to treat Danzig-Polish relations as synonymous with Polish-German relations.

In conclusion, although not well balanced, this book is informative and of a high scholarly standard. The bibliography is extensive, including all relevant Polish and other literature. Unfortunately, H. I. Nelson's excellent work, *Land and Power* (1963), appeared too late to be utilized. [All works cited above are in Polish except those of Komarnicki and Nelson.]

University of Kansas ANNA M. CIENCIALA

COMMUNITY OF FATE: GERMAN–SOVIET DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1922–1928. By *Kurt Rosenbaum*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1965. Pp. 325. $6.75.)

GERMAN-RUSSIAN diplomatic relations between the wars have been traced by various scholars prior to the publication of this study, though most of them wrote before they could consult the microfilms of the captured German Foreign Office documents. Professor Rosenbaum's book, almost exclusively based on these documents, might have provided the definitive account of the subject. Unfortunately, this is not the case. The study concentrates on the six years during which Count Brockdorff-Rantzau was Germany's ambassador in Moscow. After briefly surveying events from 1918 to Rantzau's appointment in 1922, the author discusses the diplomatic negotiations and clandestine military collaboration between the two countries from the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo to Rantzau's death in 1928. Although neither country trusted the other, both were eager to maintain a precarious community of interest which, incidentally, would have been a more appropriate title than "Community of Fate," a wishful phrase coined by Rantzau. Despite periodic crises and altercations, prompted by repeated Soviet attempts to

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interfere in German domestic politics and by Russia's distrust of Germany's efforts to improve its position vis-à-vis the Western Powers, the Rapallo policy weathered all storms until Hitler's rise to power.

The book, which lacks a statement of purpose, a recognizable thesis, and a comprehensive appraisal, is strung together from paraphrased documents into a rambling narrative of events that are rarely evaluated. The story moves largely in a vacuum comprised of *Auswärtiges Amt, Narkomindel,* and Rantzau. Rantzau's egocentric views, prolifically recorded and without the unavailable Russian files to balance them, predominate throughout. Domestic developments in either country, even those affecting foreign affairs, remain obscure. The intricate ties between Politburo, Comintern, and *Narkomindel,* so vital in German-Soviet relations, are treated peripherally, whereas Rantzau's and Chicherin's disputes over a paragraph in a treaty draft fill pages. Because the author has allowed himself to be overwhelmed by his material, presented with scant analysis, lacking proper perspective or an indication of what is or is not important, the book is essentially a restatement of familiar events amplified by numerous, and often tedious, details. No meaningful reinterpretation emerges. Marred, moreover, by a number of annoying factual errors, wrong dates, an inadequate index, and a cumbersome style, the author's dissertation would have benefited from a more thorough revision. Much work has undoubtedly gone into the book. What it lacks most is reflection.

State University of New York, Stony Brook WERNER T. ANGRESS

FRANCE, GERMANY, AND THE NEW EUROPE, 1945–1963. By *F. Roy Willis.* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 397. $8.75.)

AMERICANS serving in the European theater at the close of World War II were shocked by the bitterness exhibited by the French and Germans in discussing their centuries-old enmity. Yet in the 1950's France and West Germany joined in setting up a single defensive front and in establishing the European Common Market. In 1963 they concluded a formal treaty of cooperation that provided for regular consultations between the two governments. How was such a transformation effected in so short a time?

Professor Willis of the University of California, Davis, has given us a detailed, orderly, and well-written explanation. He has been able to spend some part of almost every year in Germany since 1955 and in France since 1946. Thus he writes with an intimate knowledge of his subject. After two chapters on the French occupation of Germany, summarizing his earlier work on this subject, there are sections on the high commission era, the Schuman plan, the European Defense Community setback, the Western European Union substitute, the establishment of the Common Market, and the fluctuations of the subsequent De Gaulle era. Willis has been given access to many important official archival sources and has made good use of them. But he shows himself equally adept in bringing out the importance of unofficial activities at the grass-roots level, such as cultural exchange programs. He also points up the important contribution made by persons from the border areas with German names but French citizenship, such as General Koenig and M. Schuman.

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My only reservation about this clear treatment of such an important subject is that the focus is perhaps kept too narrowly on Western Europe. While there are occasional references to events in other parts of the world, their effects, even in the case of those so near at hand as the Berlin blockade and the Communist take-over in Czechoslovakia, are not discussed in detail. Surely the change in the relative importance of France and Germany in the international state system and the threat of Communist Russia to Western Europe were major factors in bringing about the changed relationship with which this book is concerned. The reader desiring a comprehensive understanding of the matter would do well to supplement this work with some good treatment of the modern state system such as Ludwig Dehio's recently updated *Gleichgewicht oder Hegemonie* (English translation titled *The Precarious Balance* [1963]). But within its limits the study is excellent.

Western Michigan University MARSHALL KNAPPEN

FRANCE AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. Edited by *Sydney Nettleton Fisher*. [Publication of the Mershon Center for Education in National Security, the Graduate Institute for World Affairs, Number 4.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 176. $5.00.)

IN the spate of studies dealing with France and the Common Market this documented but somewhat dated symposium ranks among the best. The over-all tone is cautiously optimistic, though almost every contributor has reservations regarding future developments. More attention is paid to factual background than to predictive speculation, and the major aspects of European integration are judiciously examined.

Jean-Jacques Demorest's "French Culture and the European Community," the most provocative essay, portrays General de Gaulle as an existential hero in patriotic dress and his policies as a "lasting attitude of French culture" supported by an "active majority" of Frenchmen. Demorest calls up the spirit, if not the substance, of modern France, claiming that country "is only herself when youthful, rebellious, and risking." Carl Fulda provides a detailed description of "The Legal Structure of the European Community," indicating that the present loose-knit system may eventually turn into a stronger political entity with the Rome Treaty serving as a federal "Constitution." Klaus Knorr's balanced analysis of "France and European Security" is mildly critical of both De Gaulle and his critics. The paradox between Western Europe's economic creativity and its military dependence makes NATO "a coalition of necessarily very unequal partners." Knorr insists that, had Britain entered the Common Market, political integration would appear even less likely.

Hans Schmitt, analyzing "French Politicians and the European Communities," is more pessimistic and stresses the decline in quality of French officials connected with the EEC, plus the change in attitude from supranational to international. Paul Minneman's brief treatment of "Agriculture in France and the European Community" cites farming as the critical problem, particularly for the increasingly efficient French. William Diebold, Jr., viewing "European Economic Integration in a New Phase," feels that completion of the Common Market customs union may

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provide irresistible momentum elsewhere. Stagnation, however, could lead to an uncertain future. Norman Pounds asserts in "France and the Resource Pattern of Western Europe" that geography and resources are at least as important as political decisions. Western European prosperity now rests on a Rhineland industrial axis and is "a hostage for future collaboration." Zbigniew Brzezinski traces the tergiversations of the Marxist line in "The Soviet Bloc, the Common Market, and France." First underestimating the European Community, then misconstruing America's role, Moscow was slow to realize the impact of the Common Market (and French policies) on Eastern Europe.

Throughout this volume French attitudes and actions are carefully described, but not always explained, perhaps because De Gaulle himself remains inexplicable —even to scholars.

University of Illinois ROBERT A. FRIEDLANDER

A HISTORY OF MALVERN. By *Brian S. Smith*. (Leicester: Leicester University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 292. 30*s*.)

MR. Smith's study of a Worcestershire spa is a fine example of the kind of work W. G. Hoskins and others have been calling for, one that uses local evidence to contribute to an understanding of national history. Smith carries his careful and detailed account from the prehistoric British camps in the Malvern Hills to the town's present function as a genteel dormitory for Worcester and Birmingham. The area was still mostly wilderness at the time of Domesday Book; William I made it a royal forest, which it remained until sold by Charles I. The late eleventh century saw an important Benedictine priory established at Great Malvern; Smith describes it both as a landlord and as a monastic community so well ordered as to elicit the praise of Bishop Latimer in 1539. After the Reformation Little Malvern, site of a smaller monastery, remained Roman Catholic. Later chapters deal with parish government, the progress of enclosure, and other agricultural developments.

The story of Malvern's transformation into an eighteenth-century watering place and then a fashionable Victorian spa on the continental model, complete with a harrowing regime of cold baths, water drinking, strenuous walks, and an imported German band, will interest the modern social historian. By the nineties Malvern had more than fifteen thousand residents, an urban district council, assembly rooms, carefully planned streets of villas of various styles, and a generous service of trains bringing "day-trippers" from the Black Country. The period between the two world wars brought a drama festival specializing in the plays of Shaw, while 1942 made it a center for radar research.

The author's broad conception of what is historically relevant has made this a book that historians of many fields and periods will find profitable to consult.

Vassar College DONALD J. OLSEN

THE ENGLISH FACE OF MACHIAVELLI: A CHANGING INTERPRETATION, 1500–1700. By *Felix Raab*. With a foreword by *Hugh Trevor-Roper*.

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[Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 306. $7.50.)

THIS book originated as an Oxford Ph.D. dissertation written under the supervision of Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper. The author died at the age of thirty-two, before the manuscript had gone to press. Trevor-Roper, in an introduction that brings the personality of the author to life, rightly states that Mr. Raab was more than a promising student, that he was a mature scholar. In so far as anything in history is definitive, the book must be regarded as the definitive treatment of the role of Machiavelli's ideas in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.

At the outset the author defines what he intends to do. He is not concerned with the impact of Machiavelli on practical politics in England, only with his influence on political thought. Moreover, the author does not intend to study all traces of "Machiavellism" in English political thinking, but only those political writers and writings which beyond doubt show acquaintance with Machiavelli's works.

The first, almost surprising, result that emerges from Raab's book is that Machiavelli was widely read and known in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Although the author does not add much new material to what we know about early English editions, translations, and manuscripts of Machiavelli, the thoroughness with which he has collected and used the somewhat dispersed studies previously done in this field serves to demonstrate that Machiavelli had a much more sustained and continuous influence in England than we were previously led to believe. Raab proves that Gentillet's book against Machiavelli was not needed to create the image of Machiavelli as an embodiment of devilish political arts. Before Gentillet's book became known in England, Englishmen knew enough about Machiavelli to construct such a picture of the Florentine. In the seventeenth century Dacres' translation of the *Discourses* (1636) and of the *Prince* (1640) gave Machiavelli's ideas wide circulation. Nevertheless, Raab does not claim that Machiavelli was a "popular author"; in the sixteenth century acquaintance with him was limited to a "small elite," and even in the seventeenth century not a majority, only a minority, of political writers referred to Machiavelli and discussed his views.

Because of Raab's impressive mastery of all the relevant material he is able to distinguish clearly various stages in the development of Machiavelli's influence in England. In the sixteenth century the shrewdness of Machiavelli's advice on the level of practical politics was acknowledged. But Machiavelli's view of religion as an instrument of politics was abhorrent to the prevailing Augustinian tradition of political thought. Thus the image of Machiavelli as the advocate of evil was formed. Up to the time of the Civil War the reaction to Machiavelli remained determined by the issue of the relation between religion and politics, although the discussion of his ideas contributed to comprehending more clearly the difficulties implied in combining "politics" and "religion." With the outbreak of the Civil War Machiavelli's writings gained a new timeliness. The overthrow of traditional institutions opened the door for a better appreciation of councils based on political pragmatism and historical experience. Charles I and Cromwell both were attacked as tyrants who followed the evil prescriptions of the Florentine. But Cromwell was also defended on Machiavellian grounds as possessing the virtue needed by a "new prince." Furthermore, Machiavelli's *Discourses* aroused special interest because

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they provided a justification of republicanism. Among the writers of this period to whom the author gives particular attention are Marvell, Milton, Clarendon, and Harrington. His analysis of Harrington's relation to Machiavelli places the new and original features of Harrington's thought in sharp relief. Harrington considered Machiavelli as a great political writer. He did not raise the customary objections to Machiavelli's godlessness, but, according to Harrington, Machiavelli's views were deficient because he was too empirical and not "scientific" enough. Machiavelli failed to recognize the "balance of property" as the determining factor of political society; the discovery of this political law Harrington regarded as his own great contribution to political theory. Harrington's criticism of Machiavelli reveals that the relevance of Machiavelli's thought for English political speculations was coming to an end. Although, after the Restoration, Machiavelli was still frequently mentioned, his theories caused no great excitement any longer. What he said seemed to have little bearing on the issues that arose from the institutional framework into which English political life had been set.

The author is aware of the problems involved in the term "influence." He does not suggest that Machiavelli's ideas even at the heights of their "influence" directed the course of English political thought. Machiavelli is used as a touchstone for envisaging the changing issues of English political life. A possible criticism against Raab's book is that it is too crowded with quotations. Yet, this method can be justified because the extensive documentation for each stage of the development is instrumental in making this study of "The English Face of Machiavelli" an important contribution to our understanding of the changes in the English political climate from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

Institute for Advanced Study FELIX GILBERT

THE DISCOVERY OF BRITAIN: THE ENGLISH TOURISTS, 1540–1840. By *Esther Moir*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; distrib. by Hillary House, New York. 1964. Pp. xvi, 183. $6.00.)

THIS attractive book provides a useful and skillfully written introduction to a genre of English writing that flourished most particularly in the centuries between the first Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria. The earliest examples came from the great Tudor antiquaries; it was only in the next century that travel writing assumed an established character, separate from the work of the antiquarians, although often not unconnected.

The book includes discussion of such well-known works as those of Cecilia Fiennes, Defoe, Stukeley, Cobbett, and Young, as well as briefer accounts of a host of less well-known figures. But perhaps the most interesting section of the book deals with the later period, roughly after the middle of the eighteenth century, when the tourist was an established figure on the English scene and the tour a major activity of the leisure classes. At this point the book becomes an extended essay in the history of English taste and of English cultural history. The discovery of Wales and then of the lakes is a chapter in the history of English romanticism, while the rage for industrial tours to mines and factories throws a useful perspective on a slightly later period.

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The book is thus a workmanlike introduction both to the body of travel writing and to the character, habits, and purposes of the travelers. The style is agreeable and full of apt quotation; much information is skillfully conveyed; the ideas are not all original ones, but the work brings under one cover a treatment of an important subject and makes clear the connection between general movements of taste and the enthusiasm for travel. The usefulness of the book is heightened by a fairly extensive bibliography of sources and of secondary works on travel in these centuries.

Haverford College WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE ENGLISH WORKS OF GILES FLETCHER, THE ELDER. Edited by *Lloyd E. Berry*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 546. $10.00.)

GILES Fletcher, Elizabethan humanist-statesman and political ally of Walsingham and Essex, was an ardent Puritan, a writer of sonnets, an interrogator of subversives, and a diplomat. His mission to Muscovy in 1588–1589 led him to write the classic English commentary on that remote land.

Professor Berry's edition of Fletcher includes a superb biography, the poems *Licia* (the first edition since 1904) and *The Rising to the Crown of Richard the Third,* the prose works *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (the first edition since 1856) and *The Tartars or Ten Tribes* (the first edition since 1749), and forty-one primarily unpublished letters. Penetrating critical introductions, detailed bibliographical descriptions, textual analyses, and explanatory notes illumine each work.

Berry, an unusually careful and resourceful scholar, has unearthed an abundance of new information. As a student of English literature he quite naturally directs his attention to the literary significance of Fletcher's writings. He appraises the poems on their own merit, relates them to the Elizabethan sonnet tradition, and indicates the influence of Fletcher's Russian treatise on English literature. Berry's examination of the manuscript versions of *The Russe Common Wealth* contributes insight on its sources and composition; moreover, his critique of the contents of Fletcher's treatise, based on the standard commentary, S. M. Seredonin, *Sochineniye Dzhil'sa Fletchera . . . kak Istoricheskii Istochnik,* reveals many of Fletcher's errors. Had a final evaluation of *The Russe Common Wealth* and a map or guide to place names been included, this portion of the volume would have benefited.

Berry has made a distinct contribution to the literature of the Elizabethan Renaissance, and to a lesser degree he has provided a valuable aid to Russian historians.

Coe College ALBERT J. SCHMIDT

THE CRISIS OF THE ARISTOCRACY, 1558–1641. By *Lawrence Stone*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 841. $16.80.)

PROFESSOR Stone has written, nay, produced, a mammoth and marvelous book. In over 750 pages of text he has analyzed the fate of the aristocracy of England from 1560 to 1640. By aristocracy he essentially means the peerage, though the

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greater gentry frequently appear in his picture. His dates are not exclusive, for he often dips into the early Tudor period and into the years of the Civil Wars and after. Employing a vast amount of detail, possibly at times too much, he searches everywhere in the public and private lives of the aristocracy and bases his information on some sources hitherto untouched. Stone has delved into the Hatfield House, Private and Estate MSS, the Longleat, Devereux, and Seymour MSS, besides many other family papers, not to mention hundreds of manuscripts in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and local records offices. Dozens of obscure articles and books, virtually all the printed primary and secondary sources in the field and of the period, and many unpublished doctoral dissertations fill his thousands of footnotes. The "Table of Abbreviations" consists of four closely packed pages, and a complete bibliography, were it included, would make this work much too large to bind in one volume. The text is followed by thirty-seven most valuable appendixes composed essentially of extremely interesting tables. And an index of nearly fifty pages closes the volume.

What is Stone trying to show? He begins by declaring that "it is . . . between 1560 and 1640 . . . that the real watershed between medieval and modern England must be placed." Fitting his nobility into these years, he maintains that the aristocracy was faced with what "may reasonably be described as a crisis, for it involved major readaptation in almost every field of thought and action in order to fit into a rapidly changing environment." He then shows in a most readable style, flashing at times with wit when scientifically handled statistics do not deaden it, how circumstances—national, personal, social, and economic—prevented the peerage from weathering the storms brewing under Elizabeth I and raging under James I and Charles I. Of course, Stone covers so many aspects of the lives of the socially great that much of the material he presents deals not directly with their decline but more with the normal occupation of their minds and bodies. But the peerage of England was not adequately prepared to stand the political and constitutional strains that led to the Civil Wars and finally to the temporary abolition of the House of Lords. Socially, economically, and politically this small group at the top had, however, enough inherent strength to return virtually to its old position in the country during the Restoration and the eighteenth century. Of course, many of the facts dealing with the decline of the peerage, behind which the author digs deep, have for some time been known to specialists in the period.

In closing, Stone summarizes the causes of the "slump in prestige" of the aristocracy. His list among others includes "the decline in the wealth of the peers relative to that of the gentry; . . . the granting of titles of honour for cash not merit, in too great numbers, and to too unworthy persons; the change in their attitude towards the tenantry from suppliers of man power to suppliers of rent; . . . the increasing preference for extravagant living in the city instead of hospitable living in the countryside; . . . and finally the growing psychological breach between Court and Country in attitudes, real or supposed, towards constitutional theory, methods and scale of taxation, forms of worship, aesthetic tastes, financial probity, and sexual morality."

This fine book should remain indefinitely the standard work on its subject.

New York University HAROLD HULME

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SIR HUGH MYDDELTON: ENTREPRENEUR AND ENGINEER. By *J. W. Gough*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 155. $4.80.)

It was the style in Tudor Britain for younger sons of the Welsh gentry to make their way to London in search of careers in business or commerce. The Myddeltons of Denbigh—an old Welsh family despite the English name—are a case in point. Three, perhaps four, of nine brothers came to the metropolis in the late Elizabethan years, at least two of them later adding markedly to the renown of their adopted city. This book is concerned with Hugh, later Sir Hugh, the sixth son. Like many another country boy he started life in London as an apprentice and rose in time to important posts in the powerful Goldsmiths' Company. This part of his career is dealt with briefly here as are personal and family matters; for this is not a biography in the usual sense. It is concerned rather with three engineering projects to which Myddelton devoted some of his most productive years: the reclamation of certain inundated lands on the Isle of Wight; operation of silver mines in his native Wales; and furnishing London with a supply of "living water" brought from springs in Hertfordshire some forty miles distant.

It was the London water supply that earned for Myddelton the greatest acclaim both from his contemporaries and succeeding generations, and this project receives the greatest attention here. A part of the author's work has been to demolish, or at least cut down to size, myths and near myths that grew up among overzealous descendants and flourished under early biographers. Gough gives some credit to Myddelton's forerunners in the water project and in all three enterprises recognizes the importance of the professional experts hired by Sir Hugh, whose own technical training he considers to have been on the scant side. But these corrections in no way minimize Myddelton's stature. Rather he is presented to us as the entrepreneur par excellence without whose initiative, boldness of imagination, drive, and perseverance in the face of difficulties the projects could never have got off the ground as and when they did. The work is based largely on a series of Sir Hugh's own notebooks, but lately brought to the attention of historians. From them the author has extracted a fascinating and detailed account, including information concerning materials used, methods of construction, wages, and other concrete matters that are hard to find. It is a first-rate contribution to business and economic history within a rather narrowly defined area. It is not designed to be—nor is it—more than that.

Vassar College MILDRED CAMPBELL

ENGLISH PHILANTHROPY, 1660–1960. By *David Owen*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 610. $11.95.)

In this fascinating and extremely well-written volume Professor Owen covers a wide span of British experience. Defining philanthropy in pecuniary terms and measuring it by benefactions to create and support a network of charitable agencies for the mitigation of poverty, disease, infirmity, and ignorance, he starts with the period after the end of the Commonwealth and ends with the foundation of the welfare state. He writes well about eighteenth-century piety and Victorian

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benevolence, drawing freely on individual case histories and noting the emergence of the charitable society, a favorite nineteenth-century instrument of social action. The multiplication of such societies along with the multiplication of problems in an increasingly urbanized and industrialized society reflected initiative, based on a comprehensive range of motives, from fear to "universal good will." At the same time the increase in the number of such societies was so great and their activities so overlapping that it became necessary to rationalize their activities. Twentieth-century rationalization has been one element in the making of a welfare state. Another has been the ultimate inadequacy of private charity to meet all the social demands made upon it. Owen is less full and less convincing on the twentieth century than he is on his favorite nineteenth century, but he successfully conveys the impression that there was no sharp break between the makers of a welfare society and the founders of the welfare state. In both cases, despite sharp controversy, there was more concern for the fabric of citizenship than for the extension or limitation of the powers of the state. The bitterest controversy took place as the leading Victorian charitable society, the Charity Organisation Society, became excessively doctrinaire in the new social circumstances of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since then many proponents of the welfare state have believed at the same time in continuing and resourceful voluntary action, and many of the liveliest supporters of voluntary action have looked for support and reform to the state, not as an impersonal force, but as a government of men, many of them sharing the same experience and motives.

This account of the Charity Organisation Society, to which many historians have devoted attention in recent years, looks definitive. He also gives useful if less searching accounts of other societies to which less scholarly attention has been paid, notably the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. While he never quite succeeds in isolating the peculiarly British flavor of British philanthropy, he gives many examples that help the reader form his own impressions, and he makes illuminating comparisons with what happened in other countries, particularly the United States. He notes, for example, the fact that the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, founded under the patronage of George IV, disposes without argument of duties which in the United States are handled as an essential service by the Coast Guard. Its powerful patriotic appeal doubtless ensured that it should be blessed by royalty, as most successful British philanthropic societies have to be, yet it would never have been able to discharge its functions in later periods of history had it not been efficiently managed and effectively publicized. Owen uses evidence from wills to demonstrate how conventional or unconventional testators have shown themselves to be in different phases of the history of philanthropy; there is much information for the social historian in sections like these. He does not deal in sufficient detail with the activities of the handful of British foundations that perpetuate names like Rowntree, Nuffield, and Wolfson, or with the handful of biographies that illuminate individual preoccupations and purposes. Admirable though this volume is, therefore, there is room for a further complementary study on the very recent history of British philanthropy.

University of Sussex ASA BRIGGS

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CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. DOMESTIC SERIES. JAMES II. Volume I, FEBRUARY–DECEMBER, 1685; Volume II, JANUARY, 1686–MAY, 1687. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1960; 1964. Pp. viii, 578; vii, 554. $26.00 postpaid; $36.00 postpaid.)

THE present two volumes, together with a projected third volume, fill a gap in this series between the last volume for Charles II, published in 1947, and the first for William III, published in 1896. When the third volume for James II appears, this set of published calendars will run without a break from 1547 to 1704. Produced under the supervision of the editor, Mr. E. K. Timings, these two volumes uphold the best aspects of the tradition of the Public Record Office calendars. They are also books of extraordinary interest and importance. The first volume includes interesting letters about the arrangements for the parliamentary election and the royal efforts to foil "our old disturbers" "the exclusion-men." The same volume contains a mass of material referring to Monmouth's rebellion and its aftermath and an account of Charles II's reception of the Roman Catholic sacraments on his deathbed, including some details that are different from or add to those in Barillon's famous account. In the second volume the documents take on an increasingly ominous cast. Again and again the King uses his dispensing power in favor of men like Hales in the army and Obadiah Walker or Alban Francis in the universities. At the end of the volume some of the results of Dykvelt's visit appear in the form of letters to William of Orange from Churchill, Danby, Bedford, Devonshire, Fauconberg, Shrewsbury, and Halifax. Scattered throughout both volumes are the routine, businesslike letters, neither warm nor chilly, from James to his Dutch son-in-law. Each volume has its own full and accurate index.

Williams College DUDLEY W. R. BAHLMAN

WARWICK COUNTY RECORDS. Volume IX, QUARTER SESSIONS RECORDS, EASTER, 1690, TO MICHAELMAS, 1696. Edited by *H. C. Johnson* and *N. J. Williams*. Foreword by *Lord Denning*. (Warwick: Sir Edgar Stephens. 1964. Pp. liv, 204. £2 2*s*.)

"The most numerous class," wrote Macaulay of the England of 1685, "is precisely the class respecting which we have the most meagre information." The present volume goes far toward rectifying this condition. The records that it contains concern the husbandman and the yeoman, the laborer and the artisan, the apprentice and the servant, the vagrant, the beggar, and the pauper. These records are of five kinds: indictments and presentments made at quarter sessions, orders made by the justices of the peace during the sessions, minutes kept by the clerk, rolls of declarations against transubstantiation, and estreats of fines collected by the justices. The information contained in these records should prove helpful to the historian of local government, to the economic and social historian, to the legal historian, and to the ecclesiastical historian.

In these records the historian of local government can observe the justices at work, collecting money for the repair of bridges, fining men for not repairing the highways, compelling men to serve as constables, ordering a carpenter to repair the

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shire hall, and preventing a blacksmith from erecting a building upon the churchway. The social historian can observe the operation of the poor law: the justices ordering a parish to pay a widow and five children 1*s.* a week; commanding a man of good estate to maintain his seven grandchildren, their father being very poor; fining a yeoman for refusing to pay a levy for the relief of the poor; and resolving innumerable disputes over which parish should be chargeable for which poor family. The economic historian will find information on the regulation of apprentices, on the licensing of trades, on the protection of the commons, on the regulation of wagoners, on the rates that millers might charge. He will also find incidental references to prices. The legal historian will discover that theft was most often punished by whipping, that the fine imposed for assault and battery was usually 2*s.*6*d.*; that parishes angry at having a pauper settled upon them often carried their case to the King's Bench by a writ of certiorari, and that many debtors were discharged from jail because they possessed less than a £10 estate and because their creditors would not pay 1*s.*6*d.* a week for their maintenance in jail. The ecclesiastical historian can follow in this volume the enforcement of the religious settlement of 1689: the certification of private homes as meeting houses for Dissenters and the presentment of papists for not attending divine services in the parish church.

A valuable introduction and two lengthy indexes (one of persons and places, another of subjects) further enhance the value of this splendidly edited volume.

Ohio State University CLAYTON ROBERTS

TOWN PLANNING IN LONDON: THE EIGHTEENTH & NINETEENTH CENTURIES. By *Donald J. Olsen.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 80.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 245, 83 plates. $12.50.)

ALTHOUGH it was an Englishman who said that his home was his castle, very often, especially in London, he rented that home. London was largely developed by leasehold tenure, employed by that handful of great landowners that included such families as the Russells, Portmans, Howards, and Grosvenors. Professor Olsen has undertaken the first detailed study of the intricate workings of London leasehold in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when London's planning fell mainly to the decision of the private landowner. He has made excellent use of two bodies of source material: the published minutes of evidence of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (1884–85) and of the Select Committee on Town Holdings (1886–90); and the unpublished papers of two great London estates, those of the Russells and of the Foundling Hospital. The treatment of the subject is analytical, and, being modeled on the stages of a building lease, it is arranged under three main heads: the planning and building of London estates; their preservation; and their rebuilding. This analysis is fortified and adorned by the publisher's generous provision of maps, plans, prints, and photographs.

Historians of the English landowning class in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seldom avoid falling into either sentimentality or censoriousness. Olsen is to be congratulated for resisting the temptations of these facile moral postures.

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Unlike the sentimentalist, he does not hide the facts that great fortunes were made from London land, illustrating this by a useful appendix on Russell incomes since the seventeenth century, and that a great London estate had less of philanthropy about it than its rural counterpart. Unlike the censorious, he does not hide the fact that some of the great landowners, notably the Russells, made a return to the community at large by building well and tastefully and by striving to keep up the original standards. This attempt, the author admits, was not wholly successful, and as a devotee of Georgian London he much regrets it. Some of those who look about them in the London of the mid-twentieth century may share his regret. Apart from some repetition, there is very little to find fault with in this thoughtful, informed, and pioneering work. Not the least of its merits is that it is so plainly a work of love, both on the part of its author and its publisher.

Johns Hopkins University DAVID SPRING

THE ENGLISH PROVINCES *C.* 1760–1960: A STUDY IN INFLUENCE. By *Donald Read*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 319. $8.50.)

IN his latest book Donald Read describes the influence exerted on Parliament in the nineteenth century by "the new urban England" of the Midlands and the north and deplores the decline of that influence in the twentieth century.

After a brief account of the emergence of the provinces, the author devotes three chapters to the numerous agitations that originated in the industrial towns between 1790 and 1900, from Luddism and Chartism to disestablishment and tariff reform. Drawing on his wide knowledge of the provincial press and the secondary literature, Read has packed in much information, presented in clear and well-organized fashion. Several apt quotations come from manuscript collections. His footnotes constitute a useful guide to recent research, much of it scattered in periodicals.

Unfortunately, the author has tried to crowd so much into this slim volume that he has been unable to bring to bear the full weight of his learning. Sheer lack of space has prevented him from dealing fully with any one topic: it is difficult to say very much about the Reform Act of 1867 in five pages.

Another weakness of the book lies in its interpretive framework—a provincial version of the Whig interpretation, broadened to include the working classes. As Read sees it, the main theme of English history in the nineteenth century was the success of the provinces in compelling the central government to heed their demands for progress and reform. The Reform Act of 1832, for example, was "one of the great victories of provincial public opinion." Chartism, too, proved "a great influence and a triumph." Even the abdication of Edward VIII was "a last victory for provincial opinion" in a century otherwise marked by a decline in the beneficent influence of the provinces.

Here we have Victorian history with all the ambiguity bleached out. In reality, the Victorians often found themselves caught up in predicaments in which the best policy was anything but self-evident; on major issues both sides usually had quite a good case. Precisely for this reason the political intelligence and imagination of Grey, Peel, and Disraeli deserve an important place in the story. Their role en-

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compassed far more than passive acquiescence in the demands of the provinces.

In his commendable effort to escape the familiar pattern of Parliament-centered history, Read has run into two difficulties. On the one hand, he has oversimplified the legislative process by attributing too much to provincial agitation. Paradoxically, however, because his gaze remains fixed on Westminster, he has reduced the provincial cities to mere centers of agitation, whose significance is to be found primarily in their impact on the central government.

The last chapter is a jeremiad against those tendencies that have reduced provincial life in the twentieth century to "desert aridity." Among the topics treated are the decline of provincial influence, the working-class preference for football rather than politics, and the destruction of provincial accents by the BBC.

Columbia University TRYGVE R. THOLFSEN

BRITISH POLITICS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THE PATH TO WAR, 1773–75. By *Bernard Donoughue*. [England in the Age of the American Revolution.] (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. x, 323. $8.50.)

TAKING Namier's *England in the Age of the American Revolution* as the first, this is the fourth volume in a series devoted to a detailed analysis of Britain's domestic politics and American policy. John Brooke's *Chatham Administration* and Ian Christie's *End of Lord North's Ministry* were notable steps in carrying out Namier's project. Mr. Donoughue's offering does not, unfortunately, measure up to their high level of achievement.

The book does have considerable merit, however. The rising crisis in Anglo-American affairs during the last two years of peace is treated with unprecedented detail. Manuscript sources, notably the Gower and Dartmouth Papers, new at least to me, have been exploited to fair advantage. The result is a useful monograph, adding shade and nuance but leaving fundamentals unchanged.

There are some minor errors. Franklin's satire, "Rules for Reducing a great Empire to a Small One," appearing in 1773, was not "sharp revenge" for Alexander Wedderburn's philippic before the Privy Council in 1774. The dedication was to Lord Hillsborough, not to the solicitor general. The words attributed to Franklin belong to Benjamin Vaughan's introduction to the 1793 reprinting (which *was* dedicated to Wedderburn, then Lord Loughborough). My work, *British Politics and the American Revolution* (1954), terminates with the Carlisle Peace Commission, not with the Peace of Paris, and the difference expressed with its interpretation of Dartmouth's role in North's ministry ignores the common acceptance of the Earl as a moderate.

There is a more serious matter. The analysis of parliamentary voting groups—the most vital element of the Namier method—is lacking in depth, and it seems strange, indeed, to read that there is no need to delay over "fine distinctions." The friendly treatment of the Old Whigs and the criticism of the King and ministry for courting an armed conflict smack of a Whig reaction, but it is not sustained. The preference for administrative instead of legislative action against Massachusetts is surely a piece of high Toryism.

It was not North's recourse to Parliament that made war inevitable, but the choice forced upon the British government by the Americans: to abdicate all

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authority or to restore law and order by force if necessary. There was simply no way to reconcile local autonomy and imperial sovereignty within the context of the eighteenth-century British constitution.

If a personal note may be allowed, it is regrettable that Donoughue did not find some other title for his work.

Southern Methodist University CHARLES R. RITCHESON

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS WEST AFRICA: SELECT DOCUMENTS, 1786–1874. By *C. W. Newbury*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 656. $10.10.)

MR. Newbury presents to his readers a well-chosen and ably edited collection of some 470 documents. His major headings are the problems that faced Britain in West Africa for nearly a century: exploration, slave and legitimate trade, relations with African societies, company and crown administration, courts and their jurisdiction, defense, land, and finance. His range is wide, in terms of time and geography; his documents, in contrast, come entirely from parliamentary papers and Colonial and Foreign Office files.

This is not of course a full history even of Britain and West Africa, as Newbury notes. He has done nothing with trade records or missionary accounts, and the great explorers' journals find no place here. Essentially this volume shows us the British official mind at work, and the civil service mind at that; parliamentary debates are not included. We see officialdom in search of a policy, for "a solution to the problems of contact in European terms." Along the way we make some interesting discoveries: the perennially unstable traders' frontier and its lack of dependence upon forts and other "British" protected areas, relations with West African tribes changing from a diplomatic base to one founded on clientage, the muddle and discord among departments of government, the widely held hopes of cotton growing in West Africa in the 1850's. The view of trade as a form of diplomacy emerges very clearly, as does the surprising lack of naval protection after the decline of the slave trade, a problem especially in the Gold Coast where the Ashanti remained a strong and aggressive power.

Newbury's long initial headnote is as informative and cogent as the documents themselves. But the volume raises questions about its audience. This will be a useful collection for the library and for students interested in the process by which Colonial and Foreign Office decisions were reached. Its helpfulness to historians of British imperial or West African history is less apparent. A few documents are printed for each major problem, but Newbury's range means breadth rather than depth.

Smith College MARGARET L. BATES

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES 1770–1812. Volume II, 1789–1794. Edited by *A. Aspinall*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. 559. $19.20.)

THE general statements applicable to this series may be found in *AHR* (LXX [Oct. 1964], 232) and will not be repeated, except for the warning that the

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Prince's correspondence seems to have been quite imperfectly preserved. This volume is as handsome as its predecessor (and more costly), and the editing and the comments continue to enhance the work.

Considering the amount of inconsequential drivel in the book, one is tempted to suggest peevishly that Aspinall ought to throw out the letters and print his footnotes, which are a rich source of gossip and biographical information. There are, however, more tidbits in this volume worth salvaging than there were in Volume I: C. J. Fox proclaiming himself in July 1789 a strong royalist, anxious to keep up the "Royal power entire," while Pitt goes about the business of making himself independent of the King; good letters on India from Cornwallis; snippets on the election of 1790 and on borough patronage and management here and there (all indexed misleadingly under "Elections"); the Prince sending his mother *The Jockey Club*, as Jacobin literature; the Prince declaring in January 1793 for the King's government and trying to get Portland to desert Fox; HRH's view of Wilberforce: the "little fanatick (& in my opinion republican at heart) . . ."; brother Adolphus' view of brother William [IV]: "mad"; and some military correspondence from the abortive expedition of Frederick in 1794. Otherwise we have the familiar dreary view of the royal family, of the Prince's staggering debts, of the low moral tone and the high degree of dirtiness of the Prince's chosen bride number two, and the weakness, self-indulgence, improvidence, and cowardice of the future George IV.

Duke University W. B. Hamilton

DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH MONETARY ORTHODOXY, 1797–1875. By *Frank Whitson Fetter*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 296. $7.25.)

Professor Fetter seeks to "explain the interplay of forces" that led in Great Britain to the acceptance by 1875 of the principles and practices of monetary and banking "orthodoxy" of the pre-1914 period. In 1797 Britain functioned without the aid (or handicap) of a generally accepted monetary and banking theory. The suspension of specie payments in that year by the Bank of England and the Bank of Ireland aroused a controversy out of which developed the "orthodoxy" enshrined from 1875 to 1914.

The development of monetary and banking theory and practice—a development which was by no means linear and during which there was often no correlation between theory and practice—is treated in detail from the period beginning before 1797 down to 1875, by which time "orthodoxy" had become consolidated and accepted. Fetter's framework is essentially chronological and historical, though he disclaims writing a "conventional history." He deals with the situation at a particular period, sometimes year by year, and the suggestions and remedies offered by bankers, businessmen, government officials, politicians, economists, "agitators" (such as William Cobbett), and others.

His account and analysis are based mainly on contemporary sources. He has utilized hearings before, and recommendations of, parliamentary committees and royal commissions, debates in Parliament, newspapers and periodicals, "every"

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available book and pamphlet on the monetary and banking situation in Great Britain and Ireland published during the hundred years from 1776 to 1875, various manuscript materials, and the works of economists and others. He has also studied the records of the Bank of England from 1791 to 1832; unfortunately these are less than complete because usually no record was kept as to why and how crucial decisions were made.

The years 1844 and 1845 marked the end, until 1914, of legislative changes in the monetary and banking system of Great Britain. By 1850 the gold standard was virtually accepted and revered as a "matter of faith rather than analysis." By 1875 the "Bagehot principle," that the Bank of England was to function as a lender of last resort, had also become part of the orthodox creed; not only the British Navy but also British banking and monetary theory was to rule the world.

Fetter is no believer in a monistic interpretation, and he amply demonstrates that "there was no simple causation" in the growth of monetary orthodoxy. Yet the question may be raised whether, in his eagerness to point up the varied combinations that were responsible for the result, he has failed to underscore developments in the British and world economies that led to the acceptance of, even if they did not cause, the orthodoxy that emerged.

Brooklyn College SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

LABOURING MEN: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF LABOUR. By *E. J. Hobsbawm*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1964. Pp. viii, 401. 55*s*.)

DURING the last fifteen years the historiography of British labor, socialist, and radical movements has undergone important transformations. In these changes Dr. Hobsbawm has played a leading part, and his book is indispensable reading for all whose knowledge of the British "working-class movement" is still mainly limited to the pioneer work of the Webbs, the Hammonds, and G. D. H. Cole. The advances that Hobsbawm's book so admirably illustrates are notable in at least four directions. First, he no longer confines the history of labor to organizations and institutions, but seeks to uncover details of the working classes as such; hence the significance of his title, *Labouring Men*. Second, in order to explain the effectiveness or otherwise of labor movements he is concerned to relate them directly to contemporary economic and technical conditions. Third, the British experience is set in a wider context of European, or even world-wide developments. Fourth, there is a consistent attempt to remedy the lamentable lack of any theoretical framework for British social history by recourse to an undogmatic type of Marxism.

The book consists of eighteen essays of varying length and intensity, covering the period from the late eighteenth century to the present. Some of them, such as "The Tramping Artisan," "The British Standard of Living, 1790–1850," and "The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-Century Britain," have already become standard reading for all students in the field. Others present stimulating, controversial interpretations of Luddism ("The Machine Breakers") and Methodism ("Methodism and Revolution"). An important group of three chapters deals with the "new unionism" of 1889–1914. In "The Fabians Reconsidered" Hobsbawm revises radically the accepted view of the importance of the Fabian Society, whose

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self-written claims, he suggests, have for too long gone unchallenged. Three of the essays, "Tom Paine," "Hyndman and the SDF," and "Dr Marx and the Victorian Critics," are of a somewhat different order from the rest, being in the nature of shorter, book review articles.

Hobsbawm's greatest achievement is the enviable ease with which he moves through all sections and periods of the socialist and labor movements, drawing upon enlightening parallels here and suggesting contrary evidence there. The result is that this book is completely free from that platitudinous parochialism that is the bane of so much labor history. Nor does his Marxism degenerate into that sectarian dogmatism which has so often done duty as Marxist history in the past. (There is, for example, an extremely perceptive analysis of reformism in the chapter on "Trends in the British Labour Movement since 1850.") His second strength is as a polemicist, and his contributions to the great debate about the standard of living of the British people during the early Industrial Revolution are here set out in full. As one of the leaders of the "pessimistic" (opposed to the "optimistic") school, he skillfully uses new types of evidence, such as food consumption, as criteria of standards of living, and attacks the weaknesses of the optimists who rely primarily on calculations of real wages. However, it is notorious that in this debate historians on both sides have interpreted objectivity in terms of their own ideology—with the result that for the uncommitted reader, "you pays your money and takes your choice."

University of Wisconsin JOHN F. C. HARRISON

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN ENGLAND, 1815–1885. By *S. G. Checkland*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 471. $7.00.)

PROFESSOR Checkland of the University of Glasgow ranks among the ablest economic historians in contemporary Britain, and the general editor of the series in which the book appears, Dean Asa Briggs of the University of Sussex, is the outstanding Victorianist in the world. The combination of Checkland and Briggs should have made possible a really distinguished account of social and economic life in nineteenth-century England. Yet the present book is disappointing. It lacks the thoughtfulness and the sense of the past of Sir John Clapham's *Economic History of Modern Britain*. It lacks the clarity of W. H. B. Court's *Concise Economic History of Britain*. And it lacks the compassion and involvement of Briggs's own *Age of Improvement*. It will certainly be useful for some of its insights and for its excellent introduction to the recent secondary literature dealing with nineteenth-century Britain. The trouble seems to have been, however, that Checkland did not write, and Briggs did not edit, with their prospective audience sufficiently in mind. As a result, their book is crammed with far too much detail for students who do not know much about the subject; yet it contains not nearly enough fresh material for specialists. At various points, moreover, it reads like the first draft of a book rather than a finished product. In short, author and editor ought to go ahead with the revisions that will make the second edition of their book a far more reliable reflection of their talents.

Columbia University HERMAN AUSUBEL

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THE EDUCATION OF AN ARMY: BRITISH MILITARY THOUGHT, 1815–1940. By *Jay Luvaas.* ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 454. $9.50.)

THE accelerating growth of the Anglo-American tradition in military history is well defined in Jay Luvaas' careful and detailed study of the development of British military thought since Wellington. Indeed, only in recent years has the need for such an analysis in depth been seen, and Luvaas' present work flows logically and fruitfully from his earlier labors on the Civil War.

The author begins with a defense of the classic historian of the Peninsular War, Sir William Napier. Luvaas' thorough research in Britain covers such relatively neglected historians and critics of the British Army as Major General John Mitchell or General Sir Edward Bruce Hamley. With Spenser Wilkinson, whose great influence on the post-Boer War reforms of the British Army led eventually to his appointment as the first Chichele professor of military history at Oxford, Luvaas' account really gets under way. To be sure, Luvaas may understate somewhat Lieutenant Colonel Charles à Court Repington's famous (or notorious) political biases, but Luvaas is candid, if cursory, regarding Major General J. F. C. Fuller's flirtation with fascism in the course of his sadly frustrated endeavors to bring a tank arm to the British Army.

Luvaas concludes his study with a long-overdue tribute to the much-misunderstood position of Captain B. H. Liddell Hart during the interwar period. Refuting Irving Gibson's representative description of Liddell Hart as the apostle of an exclusively defensive limited war, Luvaas likewise makes clear Liddell Hart's major, if temporary influence upon the War Office reforms of Duff Cooper and Hore-Belisha during the late 1930's. Luvaas might, however, have stressed more the effect of Liddell Hart's liberal political views, in addition to his progressive military thought, in circumscribing his influence during the Second World War. As a consequence, Churchill, who had been fairly close to Liddell Hart at one point, found it desirable to ignore Great Britain's foremost military critic at a time when the latter's remarkable insights could have been invaluable.

Historical Research and Evaluation Organization TRUMBULL HIGGINS

THE GREAT AMBASSADOR: A STUDY OF THE DIPLOMATIC CAREER OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE STRATFORD CANNING, K.G., G.C.B., VISCOUNT STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE, AND THE EPOCH DURING WHICH HE SERVED AS THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE SUBLIME PORTE OF THE OTTOMAN SULTAN. By *Leo Gerald Byrne.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 383. $6.25.)

IT would be unfair to judge a book designed for the "intelligent laymen" by the standards of historical scholarship. But since the book includes a stunted set of footnotes—a concession no doubt to its publisher—some scholarly claims are implicitly made; it must therefore be noted that it is little more than a summary, and not entirely an accurate one, of Lane-Poole's *Life* of England's ambassador at Constantinople at the time of the Crimean War, published in 1888. Since the

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author makes no claim to any more original conception, it may be surprising that the book should have found a university publisher.

On the other hand, it would not have had an easy time securing a commercial one. "These were exciting men in exciting times," the author writes, but there is no sense of excitement. Canning is endowed with no discernible personality, though it would have been a challenge to grapple with the psychology of a man who trembled when he rose to speak in the House of Commons, although he could dictate, in England's name, to the Turkish sultan. Mr. Byrne has given his readers little understanding of the context of Canning's life as diplomatist, neither of contemporary English politics, nor of the Eastern Question. The style is one at which people are always "casting a wary eye"; events move "hard upon the heels" of other events. It seems doubtful, moreover, whether the ordinary reader can happily get through the maze of detail concerning Canning's diplomacy, no matter how simplistically presented.

The author has hoped to "reveal a chain of ideas and events" possessing "a permanent bearing in human history." For him, as for Clemenceau, the Crimean War against Russia has not ended, but has merely changed its form; no doubt his praise of Palmerston and Canning because they had not "flinched" approaching "the brink of war" to preserve peace, to cite one example, is meant to underline this point. He appears to see Canning's efforts preceding the Crimean War as a vindication of "the role of skilled diplomacy in human affairs." In uncritically accepting the surface truth of the official dispatches, he nearly deprives his hero of his supreme achievement. Canning was, after all, a great proconsul who, cheated of a promised opportunity to become a Tory Foreign Secretary, nonetheless succeeded, assisted by the British Mediterranean fleet, in outmaneuvering a pacific Whig government, and helped to provoke a war. It might, indeed, have made a fascinating story for the lay reader, one with, perhaps, some contemporary relevance.

State University of New York, Stony Brook BERNARD SEMMEL

BEFORE THE SOCIALISTS: STUDIES IN LABOUR AND POLITICS, 1861–1881. By *Royden Harrison*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 369. $9.00.)

ROYDEN Harrison, following perhaps the examples of his Victorian heroes, the English Positivists, has reissued in book form a selection of his writings of the last ten years or so. His subtitle indicates the general character of the result: a miscellaneous collection of studies related by the fact that all are drawn from one period of twenty years' duration. The author follows the Webbs in holding that those two decades, 1861–1881, make up a distinctive, clearly marked phase of British labor history, but he does not claim to have dealt with all of the important aspects of the subject in that era. Indeed, these articles are concerned almost exclusively with working-class politics in the political lull that separated Chartism from Socialism and independent labor. An article on "British Labour and American Slavery" is followed by two that focus on the franchise agitation of 1865–1867 and the general election of 1868. The fourth is a study of the working-class republican movement of 1869–1873, and the final essay, derived from Harrison's

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doctoral thesis of 1955, is devoted to the work of the Positivists considered as "the labour intellectuals" of the Mid-Victorian period.

Harrison finds more positive political significance in these themes than most contemporary and recent British historians have, and his essays make a significant contribution to the literature of a comparatively neglected period. His approach throughout is revisionist as well as critical in the healthiest fashion; these articles display painstaking and meticulous research in the manuscript resources and working-class newspapers of the time and in the printed, secondary sources. Perhaps the happiest of the results of Harrison's industry and erudition represented in this anthology is the essay on "The Tenth April of Spencer Walpole" celebrating the success of the Reform League in reversing Feargus O'Connor's humiliating surrender of April 10, 1848, on Kennington Common. The style here and throughout, however, is at the level of most monographs; the reader is presented an abundance of facts and a shortage of meaning and interpretation. As he is plunged into one closely detailed account after another he is inclined to feel that at many points historical perspective has been lost from view. But if Harrison seems to deal too intensively with a small number of topics, with small themes and episodes, and if he appears uncertain about one of the large questions of interpretation —the autonomy of the Mid-Victorian labor movement—one can nevertheless applaud the decision of the editor of "Studies in Political History" to make these papers available to a wider audience.

McMaster University H. W. McCready

KARL MARX AND THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT: YEARS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL. By *Henry Collins* and *Chimen Abramsky*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 356. $8.50.)

On September 28, 1864, the International Workingmen's Association was founded in London. Present on the platform that day, but silent, was Karl Marx. This German refugee had been in England for fifteen years and was acquainted with leading Chartists, but was still virtually unknown when he was co-opted to the General Council of the new organization. He soon came to dominate it. He drafted almost all of its addresses, manifestoes, and reports, and through it made a deep and lasting impression upon world socialism. Yet in England, where for many years he was closely linked with the labor movement, his influence was relatively slight. This book, a full and well-written history of the First International, devotes particular attention to an explanation of this paradox.

During most of its life the International was London centered. It arose directly from the cooperation of English and French workers' societies. Its General Council sat in London, and of its thirty-four members twenty-seven were English who lived there. George Odger, secretary of the London Trades Council and the individual most responsible for the foundation of the International, was its first and only president. From the vantage point of London, Marx, treated here objectively and dispassionately, strove to win the British workers to his views and through the International to convert them into a powerful tool for his revolutionary purpose.

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The British labor movement, however, rejected this role. The trade-unionists already possessed rights still denied their continental brethren, and they were confident of further peaceful change. They preferred to collaborate with the liberal-minded men of other classes whom they found willing to assist in winning an extension of the suffrage, better legal status for their unions, and measures of social reform. And so the British workers followed Bright and Gladstone, and Lib-Labism dominated labor politics for the rest of the century. Because of this outlook, Marx omitted from the *Inaugural Address* some of the more extreme demands of the *Communist Manifesto,* such as that ownership of all the instruments of production be centralized in the hands of the state. But organized labor was wary, and a maximum of 50,000 of the 800,000 British trade-unionists were affiliated with the International. Unions that joined were mainly in the London area and of the older crafts suffering from machine competition, while those in the growing and prosperous heavy industries of the provinces were uninterested. Even among those who became members, the practical English workers, unlike their more doctrinaire French opposites, remained unrevolutionary. After 1867 the branches in England began to wither and die and the International stagnated there. Some leaders, including Odger, ceased to attend the General Council. English members had small part in the Marx-Bakunin struggle and other internal feuds that ultimately wrecked the International, the seat of which was finally removed to New York, where, in 1876, it died. In Britain it left behind a tradition of working-class interest in internationalism and the idea of socialism, which in the 1880's was revived and strengthened.

The bibliography, both of primary sources and secondary material, is comprehensive, but it would have made for ease and clarity had the usual system of alphabetizing been followed.

Stanford University CARL F. BRAND

THE *SYLLABUS* OF PIUS IX: SOME REACTIONS IN ENGLAND. By *Damian McElrath, O.F.M.* [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Number 39.] (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, Bureau de la Revue; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1964. Pp. xv, 366. 380 fr. B.)

ON December 8, 1864, the Holy See promulgated the *Quanta Cura* and Syllabus of Pius IX. The English reactions to these pronouncements are aptly analyzed in the present work. Father Damian McElrath considers these reactions at two levels, the political and the theological, and centers his research on three dominant themes: the reaction of the British Foreign Office and the press to the Syllabus; the infallibility of the two documents, particularly as this problem is explored in the debates of W. G. Ward and Father Henry I. D. Ryder; the issue of the interpretation of the documents raised by Gladstone's open denunciation and Newman's replies in 1874–1875.

Odo Russell's letters to the Foreign Office are of interest for they echo the condemnations of the papal documents so vehemently stated in the English non-Catholic press. The reaction of the press was a national reaction, for the Conservative and Liberal periodical and daily press as well as most organs of the non-Cath-

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olic religious press vied with one another in their castigation of the Pope. It was said that the two documents gave evidence of the malevolent and sinister intentions of popery, of its Jesuitic casuistry, of its refusal to come to terms with secular civilization and progress. This emphasis of the press refurbished the English national stereotype of popery, and yet despite the emotional content of the press the "no popery" cry was not comparable to that of 1851.

The Syllabus split the ranks of English Roman Catholics. The immediate effect was a bitter struggle between the ultramontanes and the moderate Catholics. Ward, the spokesman for the former, from the rostrum of the *Dublin Review* relentlessly proclaimed the infallibility of the Syllabus. On the other hand, the moderate Catholics had reservations about the inflexibility of Ward's position. Both John Henry Newman and Ryder shared this view, and Ryder, in a series of able pamphlets, contested Ward's extreme position by questioning the validity of the case for the infallibility of the Syllabus' infallibility. The issue of interpretation flared up in 1874–1875 with Gladstone's virulent attack upon ultramontanism and Vaticanism—a view shared by the liberal Catholic, Lord Acton. This last stage of the controversy formed the backdrop for an involved theological dispute between Newman and Gladstone.

McElrath has done an excellent job of research. His analysis of the theological currents of the decade is sensitive and perceptive, as is his political insight, particularly with regard to the significance of popery as a political issue. It is to be regretted that he did not study the reaction of the press to the Gladstone-Newman controversy and attempt an analysis of the "no popery" issue in the general elections of 1868 and 1874.

State University College, Cortland, New York GILBERT A. CAHILL

GLADSTONE AND THE BULGARIAN AGITATION 1876. By *R. T. Shannon*. With an introduction by *G. S. R. Kitson Clark*. [Nelson's Studies in Modern History.] (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1963. Pp. xxviii, 308. $8.50.)

IN spite of David Harris' work on *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876* and R. W. Seton-Watson's classic study of *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question,* something more has been required for an understanding of the relationship of Gladstone to the Bulgarian agitation of 1876. As Mr. Shannon suggests, the Bulgarian atrocities agitation in Britain has suffered from the "undue neglect" of two aspects of the agitation: that it was "by far the greatest and most illuminating revelation of the moral susceptibility of the High Victorian public conscience" and that "it was, in its effect on Gladstone, an event of profound political importance."

By concentrating on the agitation "as a phenomenon in its own right," the author definitively confirms what others, who have studied the papers of Gladstone and his associates and the provincial press, have suspected or known of "Gladstone's debt to the agitation and . . . the smallness of his contribution to it. . . ." W. T. Stead, who, as Shannon demonstrates, played a major role in sparking the agitation, always made it clear that Gladstone did not begin the agi-

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tation and that he was painfully slow in taking it up. But Stead and a number of others involved in the agitation neither acknowledged that (as Shannon proves conclusively) "the agitation itself failed to attain its objectives" nor really understood "the wider implications of Gladstone's participation in the movement."

After a succinct introductory chapter and a perceptive essay on "The Moral Sensibility of the High Victorian Era," Shannon delineates the role of the "Oxford group" and of the atrocities campaign in the North Country in "The Making of the Agitation" during August 1876. Equally significant is the fresh assessment of the GOM's involvement and reluctance to assume the leadership of the agitation.

Shannon, however, is at his best in his analysis of the "structure" of the agitation and his detailed study of the distribution and general composition of the "protest" and the effect of the agitation on the denominational, intellectual, and political life of the nation. The latter includes a close look at the intellectual ferment that the agitation provoked and the role of the Radicals in the movement.

While the last phase of the agitation (October–December 1876) is something of an anticlimax, its effects upon Gladstone, the Liberal party, and even the Irish question were highly important. In this direction, Shannon presents a good case for his theses that 1876 rather than 1886 was something of a turning point in the fortunes of the Liberal party and that the Bulgarian agitation can be linked to the Irish Home Rule issue.

Although one might disagree with Shannon on such points as the personality of Stead and his Russophilism, these dissents do not detract from the fact that his work will long remain an important study of the subject.

University of Mississippi JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

AMBITIONS AND STRATEGIES: THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN THE 1890s. By *Peter Stansky*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 312. $5.60.)

THE history of the Liberal party is a field where angels well might fear to tread, but Professor Stansky, neither foolish nor in a rush, has attacked one sector of it with a technical skill and authority worthy at least of principalities and powers. His account of the leadership crisis of the 1890's falls naturally into two parts. The first is the struggle for succession during the long imminence of Gladstone's retirement, a struggle dominated by three men (in an isosceles rather than an equilateral triangle): Rosebery, Harcourt, and Morley. The second part, which occupies two-thirds of the book, concerns the subsequent struggle for survival between Rosebery and Harcourt, ending in the stalemate from which Campbell Bannerman emerged as the rather surprising choice to revivify a party that could escape only by suicide from the presence and the memory of the GOM.

The almost Byzantine complexity of the intrigues and maneuvers between 1892 and 1898 set the political historian an extremely difficult narrative problem. Basing his findings on careful and intensive archival research, Stansky has acquitted himself handsomely in this regard. Though the detail is necessarily minute, the logic of the account is exemplary, the pace never flags, and the writing is

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lucid and effortless. The reader who brings the necessary interest and knowledge to a close reading of events will make many marginal marks to bring him back to the quotations for which the author has such an expert eye, and he will be stimulated into much reflection on the nature of late Victorian politics.

Stansky combines a knowledge of events which few contemporaries could have had with an objectivity to which those few could never have arisen, and, not surprisingly in our generation, he is led to conclude that the contest turned primarily on personalities. But battles are made as much by geography as generalship. Ambitions and strategies, yes, but there were positions and obstacles, too. Ideological and institutional, these positions and obstacles were by turns appreciated, half-discerned, or quite unrecognized by those on whose actions they imposed themselves. To be sure, we are only beginning to reach any sophisticated understanding of these important developments—the emergence of party, the changing imperatives of leadership, the revolutionizing of imperial concern, the maturing of bureaucracy, and the transformation of the characteristics and loyalties of the electorate—but, limited though our knowledge is, we need not impose on ourselves the myopia or astigmatism of contemporaries. As allusions in the introduction and conclusion of this book show, Stansky knows the institutional context very well, but, in his narrative of events, an occasional sentence aside, these grand themes, like the "other theme" of Elgar's *Enigma Variations,* remain unheard.

Had context and narrative been integrated—had, for example, some attention been paid to the changed constituency for which the Liberal leaders were acting—perhaps Stansky would have found the pivots of the struggle less personal and adventitious than they seem here. But even if his interpretation remained the same, as well it might, integration of narrative and context would have given his work greater relevance for a wider audience by bringing his narrative forcefully to bear on our awareness of the significant developments of late Victorian politics. And the impact would have been Stansky's, not that of scattered private reflections by his expert readers. It is impossible not to sympathize with the professional caution that led the author to restrict his view, but my hope must be widely shared that he will go on to discuss the larger questions implicit here in a book on the nature of political leadership, say, that will be not only useful, as this book is, but one to be reckoned with.

Columbia University R. K. Webb

ASQUITH. By *Roy Jenkins.* (London: Collins. 1964. Pp. 572. 45*s.*)

Asquith's early biographers placed him on a pedestal: the wise, trusting, and imperturbable rationalist in an increasingly irrational world. As Prime Minister from 1908 to the end of 1916, he was portrayed as scornful of, and, at his fall, the victim of that clawing and conspiring for place that Lord Beaverbrook has described as a sometimes almost exclusive preoccupation of some of Britain's statesmen during World War I. Mr. Jenkins' Asquith is more human, more vulnerable, but in his public role still so formidable and so removed from many ordinary failings as to command more admiration than affection.

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Intensely ambitious but having to make his own way, above mean scheming for power but always adept in his quest for it, Asquith "owed little to chance." Intellectually he was rather intolerant. In transacting and delegating work, he was swift and efficient; in debate, pungent and devastating, except for minor lapses. His bland self-assurance was more irritating to opponents than an acid tongue would have been, and he could treat calmly with militant trade-unionists or nerve-wracked suffragettes as if he were contending with some lawyer with another brief. He was better at presenting than at formulating ideas, and the charge that he was inclined to drift during the first years of the war, that he lacked decision and imagination, has more substance than Jenkins is ready to concede.

This sympathetic portrait avoids, for the most part, imposing judgments. It is vivid and richly detailed on the personal side, but fails to discuss in any fullness the merits of Asquith's over-all strategic concept of the war or of the particular policies he supported. It would appear that the Beaverbrook approach to the politics of the years 1914–1922, with its emphasis on intrigue and maneuver at the top, has become contagious. It is "court" history of a kind, enticing and certainly valuable but often exasperatingly incomplete, with the mood and the needs of the nation, the larger effects of what men decided, assumed rather than carefully considered.

Jenkins' fascinating and fast-paced account of the December 1916 crisis, which began as a demand to reorganize the ministry and ended with Asquith's resignation, owes too much to conjecture to be wholly satisfactory. Asquith clearly underestimated the Tory leader Bonar Law, regarding him as crude in manners, timid in direct encounter, and of little or no intellectual pretension. Sharing this low opinion of Law, Jenkins in dealing with the 1916 crisis revives a version of events that has Law not "forgetting" (as Beaverbrook and Robert Blake would have it) to show Asquith the memorandum of the Tory leaders with its expression of lack of confidence in Lloyd George, but deliberately withholding the paper, thus deceiving Asquith and encouraging a perhaps fatal misunderstanding that worked to Lloyd George's benefit. But there is another explanation that depends neither on forgetfulness nor deceit. On December 29, 1916, Law told Robert Donald, editor of the *Daily Chronicle* that "he [Asquith] did not like our proposal and asked me to consider that the paper had not been delivered. I, therefore, did not deliver it." This is not unlikely, given Asquith's aloofness from intrigue and his belief until the last moment in the permanence of his own authority. What actually happened in the crucial Law-Asquith interview remains as much of a mystery as ever.

Jenkins ponders an earlier instance of possible deception. When Lloyd George in 1910 approached the Tories with a proposal of coalition, did he act underhandedly by not consulting Asquith, his chief, beforehand? Jenkins finds no conclusive evidence one way or the other. There is such evidence, however. Asquith informed Austen Chamberlain that he knew about this Lloyd George proposal "from the first."

When not at business, Asquith enjoyed feminine rather than masculine company. The closest male friendship he ever had was with Haldane, and his abandonment of him to the Tory witch-hunters in May 1915 Jenkins finds "the most

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uncharacteristic fault of Asquith's whole career." So addicted did Asquith become to an intense social life that, were it not for his remarkable efficiency, the detailed account given here of his motoring, bridge playing, dinner parties, and visits to country houses would make one wonder if in fact he was sometimes given, as his critics claimed, to too much relaxation from the cares of office; but quite possibly this is a carping criticism.

The most revealing portions of the book are concerned with Asquith's relations with Venetia Stanley, over thirty years his junior. Their correspondence reached voluminous proportions and, when it was broken off by her marriage to Edwin Montagu in May 1915, Asquith was plunged into a deep gloom. Jenkins is reticent in quoting from these letters, but those he covers include valuable information on the wartime cabinet.

The period from the 1918 "Coupon" election to Asquith's death in 1928 is rightly treated with brevity, though some of the observations on the Liberal party's decline are very illuminating, however brief. The footnoting is capricious to say the least, with citations often extremely vague and in numerous cases where they are called for, omitted entirely. Throughout the book Jenkins avoids duplicating older efforts; his conjectures are shrewd and, if not always convincing, never annoying; and his comments on the leading protagonists are penetrating and succinct. This is a beautifully written book by a skilled parliamentarian who has had ministerial experience himself. Not pretending to be definitive, it is all the more impressive because it leaves so many questions that are unanswerable unanswered.

Ohio State University PHILIP P. POIRIER

A CORNISHMAN AT OXFORD. By *A. L. Rowse*. [The Education of a Cornishman.] (New York: Hillary House. 1965. Pp. 319. $6.00.)

ALTHOUGH Dr. Johnson thought no man a hero to himself, most of the evidence runs strongly against him. Rare is the man who can shake the suspicion that he has an autobiography in him. Perhaps the less heroic the subject the more likely is the autobiographer, in the words of redoubtable Roger North, to do himself right. He looks at his past through a luminous haze, and not all his diaries indeed will say him nay. And so any claim that what is reported is *wie es gewesen* must be as constantly suspected in Rowses as in Rankes. How can he forego the pleasures of egocentricity, the recounting of the great things God (with some help) has done for his soul? How can he fail to give himself the best of every conversation? He longs to pour forth his own belief and cannot rest until he has depreciated, even dismissed, nearly everyone else. Even in those moments when he is generous, he will condescend, conveying at once his own magnanimity and the faintest suggestion that the object of his generosity shines the brighter because of the company he was keeping.

That autobiographies can be dull as well as exciting needs no footnote; the author who frames his heart in his rhapsodies and his mind in his pontificalities does not necessarily wear well. Ex post facto pronouncements, even when supported by judicious selections from a diary, seldom impress a stranger by their precocity or

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convince him by their wisdom. Still, autobiographies can be exciting, as witness those of Collingwood, Zinsser, and G. H. Hardy who taught at least one reader how philosophers, physiologists, and mathematicians are made, and did so with wondrous concision. The present installment of a Cornishman's odyssey, by contrast, will not tell us how historians are made. To be sure we can discover what one undergraduate read and did not like; we can perhaps recapture some of our own college life—its banalities and inanities, its high jinks and low, its pain and pleasure, its hopes. We will learn what the writer is willing to reveal about himself as he whisks glimpses before our eyes, but we will not learn very much that we had not already got from the less overtly autobiographical installments in his histories, essays, and biographies. That Dr. Rowse scorns "academics," that he rates political experience at least as high as research, that he has the courage of his prejudicies is here repeatedly attested. That if the problems of the world could be settled by conversation All Souls would have solved them years ago is again substantiated. Those who wear the old-school tie may savor this particular *recherche du temps perdu,* but those who share neither that experience nor that spirit may relish less precious remembrances.

University of Missouri CHARLES F. MULLETT

THE DILEMMAS OF TRUSTEESHIP: ASPECTS OF BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY BETWEEN THE WARS. By *Kenneth Robinson.* With a preface by *Watson Kirkconnell.* [The Reid Lectures delivered at Acadia University in February 1963.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 95. $2.40.)

THIS small book of under one hundred short pages, is packed full of interesting comment and analysis by an expert on its themes. As a former Colonial Office official until the beginning of the 1950's, Professor Kenneth Robinson had inside experience with the problems he covers. In the intervening years, as Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, and Professor of Commonwealth Affairs in the University of London, he could watch the swift transformation of the former dependencies into independent states.

The book consists of three lectures: "The Imperial Context of Trusteeship," "The Institutions of Colonial Policy," and "The Dilemmas of Trusteeship." As its subtitle suggests, the book is confined to British colonial policy between the wars. The trusteeship with which it is concerned was British not League of Nations. The theme to which the book is mainly devoted is "the redefinition of policies in the dependent Empire." The author sees the Labour government's public acceptance in 1949 of "self government within the British Commonwealth" for the Gold Coast as the decisive turning point, since it marked the end of "the tranquil assumption of the long-term character of Colonial rule." (Perhaps just as decisive, I would add, was the Labour party's abandonment of mandated Palestine the year before.) The "retreat from Empire" was due more, the author suggests, to the British "ideology of self government" than to any other single factor. Historically, the root of decolonization is seen in the "immense difference" made by the emergence of the dominion model. (The first decolonization was, in fact, marked offi-

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cially by the decision of the British government in 1907 to ban any further use of the term "colony" to describe a Dominion.) The second lecture brings out how slowly the Colonial Office succeeded in adjusting its machinery to the changing needs of the dependencies. The opportunities lost in the twenties and thirties, due in part to economic depression, would never be recovered, especially the failure to train a cadre of locally recruited officials, or to provide institutions of higher learning for their training on the spot.

The most interesting of the three lectures is the third. No attempt at summary could do justice to the closely knit argument. When Lugard in 1921 enunciated his dual mandate (restating what was in effect the classic doctrine of British colonial policy), the impact of the West on African societies was giving them far more complex patterns. The theory tended to assume a stable native authority and a static society. It did not foresee the growth—for example, in western Nigeria—of a "fair number of new classes unknown to traditional society, cocoa brokers, traders, lorry and bus operators, farmers employing labour, school teachers. . . ." Conditions were rapidly being created for which colonial policy could find no answers. Many of the colonies, such as Kenya, Malaya, Cyprus, and mandated Palestine, were plural societies with basic conflicts of nationality, fired by mass communications so that they became insoluble in any short run, if at all. It was a combination of internal and external pressures of a kind and an intensity that had never existed before that brought about the swift and orderly liquidation of the British Empire.

Bethesda, Maryland H. Duncan Hall

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919–1939. Second Series, Volume IX, THE FAR EASTERN CRISIS, 1931–1932. Edited by *Rohan Butler et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. lxv, 712. $16.00 postpaid.)

These documents, dating from December 11, 1931, to March 4, 1932, deal mainly with developments in the Far Eastern crisis from the period immediately subsequent to the appointment of the Lytton Commission until the establishment of an independent Manchuria and the cessation of fighting at Shanghai. The reports and papers are the work of British officials in China, Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States, Switzerland, and the Foreign Office. A small number, some quite interesting, emanate from Germany, Italy, Indochina, and Korea. Each document is numbered, and the total, 667, is much enlarged by the footnotes which present other papers, cited in whole or in part, and the minuted comments on the documents made by the Foreign Secretary, his assistants, and the Foreign Office staff.

A large number of the papers are accounts of Japanese military moves in China and of their impact on Chinese localities. Although their value for the study of British policy and the history of China is limited, they reveal the sense of British observers that China simply meant disorder and inefficiency, and the prevalence of the conditions that once served to justify imperialism and in 1931–1932 served to argue for Japanese intervention. Chinese nationalism, intensified by the Japanese

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course, was likely to remain anti-British in policy as well as impact on British commercial interests.

This view of China predisposed British policy makers, unenthusiastic about the League, to treat China, as far as they could, as beyond the League's effectiveness and guarantees. Such a course might be defensible, but British policy at its center was afflicted by a sense of impotence and a reading of the world situation that made for hopelessness and confirmed it. Efforts to restrain the Japanese militarists, embarked on dangerous adventures, would be perilous, for Britain had not the forces to oppose Japan, and criticism would inflame the militarists. If the United States were prepared to act, new possibilities would appear. But mistrust of the seriousness of the United States is a general theme of the reports from Japan and the memorandums of the Foreign Office. In beginning a study of British policy it is necessary to deal with these manifestations in their own terms, but it is equally important that the critical faculties not be beguiled by the impotence here revealed. Some of the Foreign Office memorandums and the reports of Ambassador Lindley in Tokyo hauntingly foreshadow the later appeasement mentality.

University of Notre Dame MATTHEW A. FITZSIMONS

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). GRAND STRATEGY. Volume III, JUNE 1941–AUGUST 1942. Part I, by *J. M. A. Gwyer;* Part II, by *J. R. M. Butler.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1964. Pp. xv, 401; xi, 404–783. $16.80.)

NEARLY a quarter of a century after the German attack on the Soviet Union and the Japanese raid on Pearl Harbor, it is difficult to realize the precarious state in which the Western Powers found themselves in 1941 or the efforts required before the United States and Great Britain could forge the strategy that brought final victory. These two parts of Volume III of the British official history on *Grand Strategy* not only recall effectively the perils of the period, but show in detail the steps by which the Allies made an effective alliance. The authors maintain the judicious and scholarly approach that characterized the earlier volumes on *Grand Strategy.*

Especially helpful to military readers are the thirteen maps and valuable appendixes. A useful chronological chart, broken down by theaters of operations, shows the principal military events of the period. Tables of shipping losses and a list of pertinent abbreviations and code names are among the items found at the end of the second part.

The early part of the period covered by this authoritative volume saw the British attempting to make maximum use of the respite offered by Hitler's invasion of Russia to strengthen their defenses. As their position at home improved slightly, they were faced with new dangers in the Middle East, Africa, and the Pacific. Worse still, the entry of the United States into the war near the end of 1941 threatened to reverse the policy toward Europe that we had tentatively agreed on in official discussions earlier in the year. Roosevelt and his advisers remained firm in support of the "Europe First" concept in the face of growing pres-

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sure for greater activity against Japan. In the end it was this pull toward the Pacific, however, that influenced the United States Chiefs of Staff to oppose any operations that would draw American forces deeply into the Mediterranean or to the Middle East. The authors absolve Marshall of obstinacy and pettiness, but they fail to stress sufficiently the pressure under which he operated at the time.

Roosevelt, Hopkins, and Marshall all fare well at the hands of the British official historians. Marshall gains high marks for pressing for the establishment of an effective Combined Chiefs of Staff organization in Washington and for insisting on the appointment of a supreme commander in each theater in the face of the Prime Minister's reservations and of definite opposition from naval leaders in London and Washington.

In the debate between the supporters of Churchill and Alanbrooke on their respective roles in shaping the winning strategy of the war, the authors are definitely on the side of the former. They overemphasize perhaps the fixed adherence of the Prime Minister to the concepts he outlined en route to the United States in December 1941, but they challenge effectively the notion that only Alanbrooke's firm hand kept the British political leader on the right track in the latter part of the war.

American students of the war period need this study as a corrective to books that treat the war exclusively from the Washington viewpoint. With limited numbers of ships and men, which dwindled rapidly under the war's attrition, the Prime Minister constantly had to weigh the demands of India, Australia, Malaya, and Burma against the Middle East, North Africa, and northern France. While one may disagree with his conclusions, it is possible to understand more clearly why he dreaded another disastrous reverse on the Continent and was haunted by the thought of bodies floating in the Channel. Much more than the nightmare of the Somme or the desire to justify the Dardanelles expedition lay behind his demand for peripheral operations in 1942 and 1943.

Arlington, Virginia FORREST C. POGUE

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND IRELAND IN THE AGE OF REBELLION, 1859–1873. By *E. R. Norman*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 485. $8.75.)

SINCE O'Connell's time the Catholic Church has been the most influential institution in Ireland, but until recently its activities have escaped the careful attention of historians. Within the last few years Emmet Larkin has contributed a significant essay on the bishops and national education in the late 1830's and early 1840's and two others on the hierarchy and Parnellism. Now E. R. Norman presents a comprehensive and detailed study of the political activities of the prelates in the 1859–1873 period.

Under the leadership of Cardinal Cullen, the Irish hierarchy—through personal communication with British politicians, Manning's influence at Whitehall, pressure from the National Association, and an alliance with British Radicalism and Dissent (the Liberation Society)—attempted to promote Irish reform. Prodded by Irish Catholic bishops, British Radicals, and the Fenian movement,

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Gladstone attempted to conciliate Irish Catholic opinion. Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869) was the high point of the Irish Catholic-British Liberal alliance. The land act (1870) failed to satisfy the security needs of Irish tenant farmers, and the university bill (1873) antagonized Catholic bishops because it endorsed the principle of mixed or nondenominational education. Meanwhile, British no popery—revitalized by the Vatican Council, agrarian outrage in Ireland, and the reluctance of Irish Catholics to aid the disestablishment agitation in Britain—alienated British Liberal support for further concessions to Irish Catholic opinion. Influenced by the attitude of the bishops, Irish Liberal M. P.'s helped defeat the university bill, contributing to the collapse of the first Gladstone administration. But this ideologically incompatible Catholic-Liberal alliance established a precedent for the compact between the Liberals and Irish nationalists that began in the 1880's.

To a large section of Irish opinion, anti-Fenian, anti-Home Rule Cullen is one of the villains of Irish history. Norman describes the theologically ultramontane, antinationalist cardinal as a man sympathetic to the needs of the Irish masses and, contrary to the reactionary views of Pius IX, prepared to work with Liberals to achieve reforms for Ireland. But his excessive fear of Protestant proselytism and his narrow-minded view that the interests of Catholicism and Ireland were inseparable made Cullen insensitive to many of the issues and trends of the modern world.

Norman argues that the National Association was weakened as a popular movement because it embraced too many objectives: denominational education, disestablishment, and tenant right. However the success of the multi-issue platforms of repeal under O'Connell and Home Rule under Parnell and the failure of single issue agitations like repeal after O'Connell and Home Rule under Butt challenge this thesis.

This is an important book, thoroughly researched and written, occasionally, with too much detail, but always with intelligence and keen analysis. Norman's work does much to clarify the political activities, techniques, and objectives of the Irish Catholic bishops and at the same time illuminates the shadows of Irish and British history in the complex and confusing 1860's.

Marquette University LAWRENCE J. MCCAFFREY

PARIS ET ÎLE-DE-FRANCE: MÉMOIRES. Volume XIV, 1963. (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck for the Fédération des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France. 1964. Pp. 232.)

THÉRÈSE Kleindienst's long article on the topography and development of the "marais de Paris" could have been immensely useful if historical topography had not been so narrowly defined. Here the *marais* are not only detached from the history of France, but even from that of Paris. Occasionally new things appear, thanks to the author's patience in the archives, but never once does she make a judgment on their significance or connect her findings either to economic or social history. Fortunately the names and titles of those who tilled the little fields and traced the paths in the swampy marshes north of the capital are given in detail,

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making this work a valuable source for anyone trying to answer the important questions of the urban history of Paris.

Jean-Pierre Babelon's study of the Hôtel d'Assy is a biography of one of the residences, which, since 1845, has been part of the Archives Nationales. Built after Salomon de Brosse's designs for the robe family, Amelot, the hotel has been many times remodeled by a succession of owners, most of whom were tax farmers. One wishes for more information on the owners; the "petite histoire" of their rise and fall, quarrels, *procès,* and interests in culture would have given the wall paneling, *cour d'honneur,* and monumental staircase, which Babelon describes, greater interest and historical significance. The most interesting part of the article concerns the vicissitudes and projects for housing the French archives, and of acquiring the hotel to supplement the installations in the Palais Soubise. Since 1845 the hotel has housed archivists, some of whom were illustrious, like Michelet and Delisle, and many others who seemed content occasionally to make catalogues and to argue with each other.

Finally, Louis Bergeron's article on the food supply and significance of changes in the Parisian diet in the First Empire is the most important contribution in the volume. From 1801 to 1817 the price, quality (white, because even the poor turned down black bread), and quantity of bread remained remarkably stable despite a rising population, while the consumption of beef and liquors such as *eau de vie* increased and then became related to each other in the Parisian's search for calories after the production of meat failed to rise. Thus with bread consumption remaining stable, and meat, butter, and other staples leveling off, the poorer Parisians chose to fill up on cheap alcohol to sustain themselves. Bergeron also demonstrates that the consumption of fresh milk rose because of the popularization of coffee and that more and increased varieties of fruits and vegetables became available to more Parisians of low social status. This suggestive article, with its statistics based on government reports, raises many interesting questions about the impact of the changes in diet on such important things as mortality rates and on political activities. It merits careful study and reflection.

Columbia University OREST RANUM

LETTRES ET MÉMOIRES ADRESSÉS AU CHANCELIER SÉGUIER (1633–1649). In two volumes. Collected and published by *Roland Mousnier.* [Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Paris. Series "Textes et Documents," Volumes VI and VII. Travaux du Centre de recherches sur la civilisation de l'Europe moderne, Numbers 2 (1) and 2 (2).] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 687; 702–1282. 60 fr. the set.)

THESE two volumes contain 409 letters written to Chancellor Séguier between 1633 and 1649 by a variety of royal and municipal officials, constituting, according to the editor, about one-seventh of the Séguier correspondence for these years alone now known to be in Parisian depositories. The somewhat smaller collection of Séguier papers in Leningrad, removed during the Revolution by the secretary of the Russian ambassador at Paris, Pierre Doubrowski, and presented by him in 1800 to the Russian government, is represented here only in the editor's notes in

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the form of short abstracts, the Soviet government having refused permission to publish them *in extenso* on the grounds that it is their intention to do so at some unspecified date.

The letters published in this work deal with many kinds of activities, but Professor Mousnier gives special emphasis to problems arising from the rather frantic fiscal policy of the period and particularly the local reaction to this policy in the form of popular uprisings and upper-class conspiracies. In addition to the letters themselves, valuable information on the pre-*Fronde émeutes,* currently one of the editor's special interests, is to be found in an appendix containing fifteen *mémoires* on various seditions of these two decades. Of special interest, too, is a rather heated six-page *additif* which Mousnier managed to slip by the printers at the last moment in reply to the French translation of Boris Porchnev's *Les Soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648.* If any further evidence be needed of Mousnier's low estimation of certain Soviet historians, these pages should be helpful. Porchnev is quoted as replying to Mousnier's strictures on the Russian's sparse documentation: "Même si j'avais consulté tous les documents français, cela ne changerait rien à mes conclusions."

The editorial work that went into these volumes is of the highest caliber. In addition to providing abundant and illuminating notes for the letters proper, Mousnier devotes more than one-third of the work to various kinds of editorial matter, including a very valuable essay on the *maîtres des requêtes* considered both as an institution and as human types (available as a separate publication from the same publisher), three appendixes (documents on the *conseiller d'état,* a sampling of intendants' commissions in the 1630's and 1640's, and *mémoires* on pre-*Fronde* seditions), genealogies of many of the families encountered in the letters (offering tangible evidence, if any be needed, of the striking size of the families of seventeenth-century officialdom), and, finally, three detailed indexes to the entire work. The only changes one might have welcomed would have been the joining of the three indexes into one and the addition of a short calendar for the letters. But these volumes constitute an essential and handsome addition to any serious seventeenth-century historical collection.

University of Notre Dame LEON BERNARD

FILOSOFIA E POLITICA NEL SETTECENTO FRANCESE. By *Furio Diaz.* [Biblioteca di cultura storica, Number 74.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1962. Pp. 669. L. 5,000.)

THE underlying premise of this massively documented work is that there was a "close connection" between the thinking of the philosophes and French political institutions in the eighteenth century. Thus, the problem dealt with in great detail is the failure of these critics to implement their ideas by bringing about the reforms that would have staved off revolution. Except for a few instances of direct action, such as that of Voltaire in the Calas affair, the answer would seem to be that we tend to overestimate the strength of ideas and find it all too convenient to think of the philosophes as a kind of political party with a united plan of action.

In his presentation of the tangled piece of history that begins with Machault's

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attempt to reform the tax system in 1749 and ends with the fall of Turgot in 1776, the author shows an awareness of this answer and makes his points by means of a close and careful analysis of the crises that occurred between the two dates. The major events, such as the banishment and recalling of parlements, are not unfamiliar to students of the period; what is more at issue is the validity of the author's premise. It is true that in 1789 the spirits of the philosophes might have cried out "Why didn't you listen to us!" but it seems rather fanciful to call the Revolution itself "Philosophy's Revenge," which is the name of the last section of this book. When men are in physical combat, there is indeed a species of "close connection," and a punch in the jaw is quite an influence, but a philosophical admiration for Machault and Turgot, along with much unasked for and largely ignored advice, hardly seems to be a "connection" or even an influence. Still, this is a useful and welcome addition to the literature of the field, whether or not this premise is entirely valid. Mr. Diaz has made use of Peter Gay's *Voltaire's Politics,* but his perspective might have been improved had he used the same author's essays, mostly available even before publication in *The Party of Humanity.*

Northwestern University GEORGE T. ROMANI

RENNES ET SES DERNIERS SEIGNEURS, 1730–1820: CONTRIBUTION À L'ÉTUDE ÉCONOMIQUE ET SOCIALE DE LA BARONNIE DE RENNES (AUDE) AU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE. By *René Descadeillas.* [Bibliothèque Méridionale, Second Series, Number 39.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat. 1964. Pp. xxvi, 294. 29 fr.)

THE Hautpoul family represented the "middling" nobility in eighteenth-century provincial France. René Descadeillas traces the history of the family and of the local rural community south of Carcassonne from 1730 to the Bourbon Restoration. He has explored tax rolls, parish registers, family papers, and especially the local notarial archives to describe three generations of Hautpouls and their barony of Rennes (5,000 hectares and 562 inhabitants in 1789) in the upper Aude Valley. Pushing the account through the Revolution is an improvement on previous regional studies which usually terminate in 1789. The compact chapter on social and economic conditions of the region in 1789 surveys demographic changes, social groups, division of the soil, agricultural methods, grain prices, wages, taxes, and seigneurial dues. The chapter on the region in 1815 is less complete largely because the sources are less rich, but the general situation seems clear enough. The changes wrought by the Revolution in this relatively remote agricultural area were not spectacular from an economic point of view. If there were only 20 *censitaires* (in a community of 350) with enough land to live on in 1789, there were still only 20 "proprietors" with self-sustaining farms in 1807. On the other hand, the heavy burden of seigneurial dues and Church dimes had been lifted and farm wages had risen 28 per cent while bread prices had risen only 15 per cent in the same eighteen years.

As for the Hautpouls of Rennes, their economic decline had been precipitated in 1753 by the absence of a male heir and the equal division of the family estate among three daughters after a seventeen-year lawsuit. Descadeillas then follows

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the maneuvers of three branches of the family during the 1790's. Imprisonment and expropriation did not hurt the family as much as the forced and premature division of the property because a brother or a husband had emigrated. As a result, some, like Alexandre d'Hautpoul, ended their lives in the proverbial crumbling chateau with a military pension of a few hundred livres in the 1820's. Others, like the Fleury children, held on to their mother's land by ingenious legal delays and profitably turned the estate into a watering spa in the Restoration years. Perhaps more had changed than first met the eye. In 1822 the peasants of Bain de Rennes petitioned the prefect, asserting that their "former seigneur armed with feudal power" was no longer the "arbitrary dispenser of the product of their sweat." Although a Hautpoul was still their mayor, traditional deference of the local population was gradually giving way to an awareness of civil rights.

Johns Hopkins University ROBERT FORSTER

ASPECTS DE LA POLITIQUE FRANÇAISE SOUS L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. By *Gaston Zeller*. Preface by *Victor-L. Tapié*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. viii, 392. 36 fr.)

GASTON Zeller, in a half century of scholarship first at the University of Strasbourg and later at the Sorbonne, produced a diversity of output sufficient to culminate in a bibliography of over four closely printed pages. Nine book-length studies have numerous shorter pieces clustered about them, and now the more significant of the latter have been put together in the present volume, prefaced with an appreciation from Zeller's friend and colleague, Victor-L. Tapié. They constitute a fitting monument to the accomplishments of an active and inquiring mind, a mind that could devote infinite pains to the careful pursuit of small but important details and yet grow to the point where it could encompass both larger perspectives and newer techniques.

Zeller is best known for his work in the field of French foreign relations (he is the author of the second and third volumes of the *Histoire des relations internationales* edited by Pierre Renouvin), and the larger part of this collection of essays is concerned with this area of his activities. The first, "Louvois, Colbert de Croissy et les réunions de Metz," presents an aspect of his doctoral thesis then (1919) in progress and introduces what remained the primary geographical area of his investigations—Lorraine and Alsace; the next to the last article in this section, "Le principe d'équilibre dans la politique internationale avant 1789," which appeared in 1956, indicates both the terminal date and the widening concern of his interests. These same developments are repeated in the second part of the volume, which deals with domestic aspects of French history, although the entries are all chosen from essays published since 1937. The first is entitled "Un faux du XVII^e siècle: L'édit de Louis XI sur la poste"; the next to the last is "Une notion de caractère historico-social: La dérogeance." As a further indication of Zeller's range of endeavors, there are several articles in both sections that are economic in orientation, while the last two articles (and the last of his books) are firmly tied to sociology. This all adds up to something praiseworthy in the eyes of everyone save the bibliographer or reviewer. What does raise this volume above the status

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of a heterogeneous collection, however, is its author's zest for historical investigation; every problem he pursued suggested several fresh ones to him.

University of Wisconsin HENRY BERTRAM HILL

MALESHERBES: TÉMOIN ET INTERPRÈTE DE SON TEMPS. By *Pierre Grosclaude*. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. [1961.] Pp. xvi, 806. 57 fr.)

PIERRE Grosclaude has surely fulfilled one of the oldest aims of biography: to hold up the lives of great men to our admiration. As magistrate, minister, and adviser to men in power, Malesherbes touched and affected nearly all the important issues that agitated Frenchmen during the second half of the eighteenth century. Enlightened and humane, he preserved only hatred for arbitrary authority from his rearing within the ideas of an aristocratic dynasty of magistrates. When the opposition to the crown that he once expressed as president of the *cour des aides* came to seem narrowly aristocratic and selfish, he simply changed his mind; by the 1780's he was sure that the estate of nobility should and would disappear from France. His life was spent in a fight against arbitrary *lettres de cachet* and censorship, and for the interests of philosophes, Protestants, and Jews. A democratic social and legal order; entire freedom for all to speak and to write as they wished; a secular state and society where religious sects, Catholicism only one among them, would exist and compete without being able to invoke the interest and support of political authority—these ideas of Malesherbes were new and revolutionary at the time. Nor did he abandon them or wish to recall the old order that had died in 1789, even when he served as defense counsel to Louis XVI or contemplated his own approaching end under the guillotine.

This is the life and mind to which Grosclaude has devoted some 759 pages. Much of the text is taken up by Malesherbes's own words, drawn from the manuscript letters and *mémoires* that his biographer traced through private archives as well as the public deposits. It is biography in the manner of the nineteenth century, and historians will mine it for their own work on many problems. For this reason it is worth noting that there will be difficulties in its use. It is no doubt only a minor fault that the author sometimes gives Malesherbes too much credit for originality: he has him working out some arguments in favor of the Huguenots in the 1780's that had in fact already been effectively developed and used by lawyers and prosecutors in the parlements from the late 1760's. It is more troublesome that Grosclaude looks at society too much through Malesherbes's writings. The Protestants that he finds, for example, are more the legal entities described by Malesherbes when he was trying to persuade judges and administrators than they are the men described recently by Émile Leonard and Daniel Ligou in a broad social, economic, and even religious setting. And, finally, the most serious trouble in this, as in many biographies, is that the preoccupation with Malesherbes's life and activities leads to an incorrect definition of problems. To the historian of ideas, for example, it may seem less important to know what was Malesherbes's exact role in the dropping of an article on Unigenitus from the *Encyclopédie* than it is to know what he saw in Jansenism, and why. Too often the description of tactics replaces analysis of ideas. Where ideas are very important, but did not lead to

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specific action by the man, as with his views on noblesse, the treatment is brief.

It is trite but true to say that this book is useful, and much of it is very interesting. It is not, however, "definitive," and the numerous and lengthy quotations from the manuscript sources do not make it so. The criteria for the inclusion of some selections and passages and the exclusion of others are not certain. The author's interest in Malesherbes's tactical roles and personal relationships and his disinterest in a broader framework will make political, social, and intellectual historians wonder what they are missing from the sources, even in a book as big as this one. Perhaps, in the end, what Malesherbes needed was less a biographer than an editor.

Princeton University DAVID D. BIEN

BOUGAINVILLE, NAVIGATEUR, ET LES DÉCOUVERTES DE SON TEMPS. In two volumes. By *Jean-Étienne Martin-Allanic*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. xii, 814; 816–1600. 120 fr. the set.)

DIDEROT wrote of Louis Antoine de Bougainville that he was a "true Frenchman, ballasted on one side by a *Treatise on Integral Calculus* and on the other by a *Voyage around the World*." The first book won him membership in the Royal Society of London, in a nation whose ambition overseas he meant to frustrate. The second brought him fame in the aristocratic society of Paris he enjoyed, but in which he was an intruder from the legal and administrative bourgeoisie. It is no wonder that his services to France were properly recognized only by the First Empire.

This book is not a biography in the ordinary sense. More than three-quarters of its pages are allotted to one decade in Bougainville's career (1762–1773), when he was attempting to colonize the Falkland Islands and leading the first official French circumnavigation of the globe. These enterprises, as well as their diplomatic setting, are recounted in exhaustive detail and with copious references to the sources. The author has used a wide range of evidence: Bougainville papers, logbooks, journals of crewmen and passengers, port and municipal records, naval, colonial, and foreign affairs archives in France, Spain, and England.

Among the immediate consequences of the circumnavigation were the first accurate measurement of longitudes in the Pacific and the assertion of a French claim to Tahiti. While the myth of a great southern continent in the Temperate Zone was shattered, the new myth of a Polynesian paradise was taken up by the philosophes.

Especially valuable in this work is the attention given to international rivalry over the Falkland Islands after the Seven Years' War. Choiseul saw the importance of overseas bases and encouraged exploration and colonization. Unfortunately his choice of Guiana and the Falklands for special attention was disastrous. Trapped in his own creation, the Family Compact with Spain, Choiseul had to cede the Falklands to that declining power. Then he encouraged Spain to risk war with Great Britain over the same islands. This would certainly have involved France in an unnecessary new war, which was avoided by the dismissal of Choiseul.

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Martin-Allanic is inclined to be uncritical of Choiseul's policy. He is especially old-fashioned in his handling of Choiseul's quarrel with Maupéou and Terray. He treats their plan to override the parlements as an unjust exercise of despotism, rather than as perhaps the last chance of the French monarchy to set its house in order. Nonetheless this work is a mine of information on such diverse matters as the pervasive financial difficulties that beset the French state, local rivalries in the colonial administration of the Île de France (Mauritius), and the arguments advanced to justify colonialism.

Syracuse University VINCENT CONFER

UN JOURNAL DE PROVINCE SOUS LA RÉVOLUTION: LE "JOURNAL DE MARSEILLE" DE FERRÉOL BEAUGEARD (1781–1797). By *René Gérard*. Preface by *Jacques Godechot*. [Bibliothèque d'histoire révolutionnaire, Series 3, Number 3.] (Paris: Société des Études Robespierristes. [1964.] Pp. 307.)

M. GÉRARD presents in the name of the *Journal de Marseille* two claims to attention: the first that it led an extremely long life for a provincial newspaper, and the second, that commencing as a journal of information, it on two occasions abandoned its colorless role, became a journal of opinion, and participated in the political struggles at Marseille, with fatal consequences in both cases.

The ideas of Beaugeard have a bearing on both these phenomena. He was a bourgeois, though a modest one, a man of order, a respecter of property and persons, deferential to authority whether legal or socioeconomic. He offered his talents to the class that shared his views, the world of finance and commerce of Marseille and the comfortably situated everywhere. They accepted him, and their consistent financial support afforded him a livelihood. Henceforth his fortunes, financial and, subsequently, political, were intimately coupled with theirs.

The editorial policy adopted by Beaugeard also contributed to the longevity of the *Journal*. He avoided making enemies. "Conformist," "detached," "opportunist," "prudent" are the adjectives Gérard uses to describe his editor. His tactics, when faced with unpleasant events, was sometimes utter silence. He printed not a line in regard to the abortive Girondist demonstration of June 20, 1792. Even occurrences at Marseille, embarrassing to one or another group, he played down or ignored. His success at this game is indicated by the fact that even when the Jacobins were in control of the city during 1792–1793, he was not molested.

With most Frenchmen, he welcomed the Revolution, but shortly he seems to have merely accepted it. He was never ahead of events. To him Louis was still "the best of kings" until the news of August 10 reached Marseille.

The occasions when Beaugeard committed himself politically and became the spokesman for a party were during the federalist revolt of 1793, and in 1795–1797 when conservative and royalist hopes were rising, only to be shattered, along with Beaugeard, by 18 Fructidor. At these times his subscribers and their class went on the offensive in order to defend their principles, and his, of law and order and property against the disorders and excesses of the Jacobin tyranny. In his first effort, the tone was vague and mild, merely calling for a moral regeneration and an end

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to intrigues and slanders. During the second, his attacks were more bitter and his attitude close to counterrevolutionary. He "was led, in many cases, to put the Revolution on trial." He "sought a wise liberty," not license, "the right to worship the God of our fathers," "the end of anarchy and revolution, a stable government which assures life and property. . . ." He would "bless Bonaparte twice over."

Gérard's study has revealed extremely well the stages by which the *haute bourgeoisie* shifted its ground in face of the revolutionary "arrivistes" and tried to reassert its old values. It failed in 1793 and 1797, but not in 1799.

University of Illinois J. B. Sirich

LA SOCIÉTÉ FRANÇAISE, 1789–1960. By *Georges Dupeux*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 295.)

Like others in the "Collection U" series, this volume is intended to be an "instrument de travail" for advanced French students who find themselves in need of up-to-date works of synthesis. It admirably fulfills this purpose. As the title suggests, it is a historical sketch of French society since the eighteenth century, emphasizing the history of social groups or classes and their evolving relationships. Not unnaturally, Professor Dupeux leans heavily for his synthesis on the works of Ernest Labrousse, Georges Lefebvre, and Georges Duveau, and on the relevant volumes in various multivolumed French historical series that have been appearing in recent years. An introductory chapter, which many readers may find the most useful, traces general trends, examining historically (and with valuable statistical detail) demographic developments in all varied aspects including birth rates, age changes, and geographical and occupational redistribution of the population. It outlines also the key stages in the progress of the French economy, giving heightened significance to the economic upsurge that has marked the contemporary scene. It is interesting to note the author's observation that the economic take-off (*démarrage*) that we have long tended to place in the middle of the nineteenth century can perhaps be more accurately placed "sometime about 1950." Individual chapters then examine respectively class structure and economic developments at the end of the old regime and during the Revolution; the years 1815–1871 ("vers la société industrielle"); the years 1871–1914 (a troubled social climate belying later nostalgic recollections of *la belle époque*); and the society of the twentieth century reacting to the impact of two world wars that have had a greater effect than all the political revolutions of the previous century. At the end of each chapter there are extremely useful diagrammatic maps, statistical tables, wages and price indexes, chronological tables, selected bibliographical references, and even a mélange of "documents" ranging from laws and decrees to excerpts from essays by other historians or from contemporary accounts. The result is to make the volume textbook, source book, and reference manual combined. Finally, Dupeux has some acute observations to make on contemporary social developments, especially on the "new working class," the new managerial cadres, the rising material comforts and living standards that are now called the "French way of life," and also on the attendant decline of political activism (*dépolitisation*) among the working classes.

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In its coverage and methodology the book provides a good example of historical writing linked to the social sciences; like most such writing, it tends to be somewhat abstract and sometimes to deal with bloodless categories. Yet the author has done his best not to exclude the French people from his history of French society.

Duke University JOEL COLTON

L'INSURRECTION VENDÉENNE DE 1793: ASPECTS ÉCONOMIQUES ET SOCIAUX. By *Marcel Faucheux*. [Commission d'Histoire économique et sociale de la Révolution. Mémoires et documents, Number 17.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1964. Pp. 412.)

THE Vendée has long been a whetstone to which students of the French Revolution bring their axes to grind. How could it be otherwise with the most serious case of concerted internal resistance to the Revolution's men and works? Marcel Faucheux, too, carries an axe, but he has honed it sharply. Only rarely does he handle it like a bludgeon. His study of the Vendée deftly dissects many of the traditional "explanations" of the counterrevolution and argues that the entire rebel region (far from being either the happy feudal survival or the stagnant backwater that other authors have portrayed) had been suffering painful poverty during the eighteenth century and entered acute economic crisis about the beginning of the Revolution. More than anything else, in his view, the counterrevolution was a cry of misery. Célestin Port urged a similar idea about seventy-five years ago, but with no more systematic evidence than the quite conventional complaints in the region's *cahiers de doléances,* and only on the way to asserting the existence of a gigantic counterrevolutionary plot. Faucheux does not offer convincing evidence for his fundamental thesis, but in the act of arguing it he does assemble rich, new, voluminous, often quantitative information on matters of great importance: the collection of taxes, the revolutionary reorganization of local communities, the sale of Church properties, and so on. The book takes the form of an argument, not of an account. It contains no continuous description of the counterrevolution and rarely mentions events later than mid-1793.

Here is the book's outline: Every major thesis concerning the Vendée is inconsistent, and all neglect the material interests of the population. The geography of the Vendée and revolutionary military dispositions in the region were both favorable to counterrevolution. The Church was insufficiently organized or unified to have "caused" the rebellion, and the old attribution of greater religious zeal to the region's people is doubtful. The agriculture, commerce, transport, and industry of the Vendée were already in bad condition before 1788, and a severe economic crisis gripped the region from then on. The major revolutionary changes—new taxation, the reorganization of local communities, the sale of Church properties, military conscription—aggravated the region's lot, indeed turned its population against the Revolution and its few local beneficiaries, though "capitalist" control of the property sales was far more serious than the "pretext" of conscription. All this was much truer of the Vendée than of superficially similar Brittany.

Along with precious new detail on these matters, many large, undigested lists and tabulations fill the text. The reader with a lust for data and a flair for statistics

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will often be able to do much more with these hunks of information than Faucheux himself does, and even to draw different conclusions from them. The figures on textile production, for example, really do not display any trouble before the genuine crisis of 1789 (indeed, if Faucheux had taken his series further back, the figures would have shown the enormous expansion over the previous thirty years), and the excellent new information about the agricultural shortages of 1788–1789 indicates, if anything, that things were worse outside the future territory of the counterrevolution. While at times the author is tender to such risky varieties of evidence as local declarations of poverty, at other times he is willing to guess that temporary movements of poor people from the areas right for his thesis to the wrong ones "falsified" the statistics at hand. He is not entirely faithful to his method. Yet we owe Faucheux thanks for giving us enough information to contradict him. His thoroughness, his insistence on systematic comparison, his asking of questions that lead to new documents have produced many solid results, results that shatter past follies and challenge future analysts of the Vendée.

Harvard University CHARLES TILLY

THE SENSE OF DECADENCE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Koenraad W. Swart.* [International Archives of the History of Ideas, Number 7.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xi, 272. Glds. 27.50.)

EGYPT had no literature of lamentation. Europe at times appears to have only a literature of grief, despair, despondency, desperation, expectation of decadence, and delight in the poetry and prose released by sorrow and pessimism. Koenraad W. Swart's elegant account of the literature of crisis gathers together so many of France's philosophers, historians, poets, political thinkers, journalists, and critics that one is forced to conclude that Bossuet's *oraisons funèbres* are the prime source of France's literature. Swart frames his study perfectly. His first two chapters review the concept of decline from the ancient world until the French Revolution. The last chapter surveys the pessimism of France's European neighbors. The major portion of his book traces the moments of hope and distress that accompanied the Restoration, the Revolution of 1848, the Second Empire, the disaster of Sedan, the turn of the century, and the decade of confidence preceding August 1914.

Great care is taken to relate the sense of failure that found wide expression in nineteenth-century France to the concrete political and sociological situation experienced by each generation. Masterful skill is used to evoke the varieties of anxiety induced by the pressures of history. In the period 1814–1848 despondency attended France's declining international position, the frustration of those who tried to recall the virtues of the *ancien régime,* the liberal conflict with industrial reality, republican dissatisfaction with the political poverty of the July Monarchy, socialist contempt for bourgeois civilization, romantic rejection of the spirit of the age, and Anglophobia matched by an envy of the superiority of German culture. After Sedan, Flaubert was sure that "Nous assistons à la fin du monde latin." During the long *fin de siècle* of 1877–1905 the modes of disenchantment were multiplied by conservatives, mystics, scientists, liberals, poets, the young and the

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old, the saved and those who welcomed damnation, the intelligent and the stupid, philosophers and economists, serious journalists and insensible cranks. France's capacity for discontent does not encourage Swart to become psychoanalyst. He resists a temptation that may overwhelm his readers. Instead he illustrates how superb and sympathetic a confessor the good historian can be without the need to grant absolution or impose penance. Significantly he concludes his study by observing that France's pessimism was distinguished by a refusal to support "any form of fatalism."

This book belongs in the company of Paul Hazard's *La crise de la conscience européenne, 1680–1715,* alongside Claude Digeon's *La crise allemande de la pensée française, 1870–1914,* and will of necessity be compared to the unhappy findings of Fritz Stern's *The Politics of Cultural Despair.* Such comparisons will render more precise the historical meaning of modernity. Despair is a form of therapy, perhaps fatal. Yet if it did not exist a sense of decadence would have to be imagined in order to give proportion to all reflection on the past and present.

Wesleyan University EDWARD T. GARGAN

LES DEUX CONGRÈS ECCLÉSIASTIQUES DE REIMS ET DE BOURGES, 1896–1900: UN TÉMOIGNAGE SUR L'ÉGLISE DE FRANCE. By *René Rémond.* [Histoire et sociologie de l'Église, Volume IV.] (Paris: Sirey. 1964. Pp. xii, 242. 20 fr.)

LE DIOCÈSE D'ORLÉANS AU MILIEU DU XIX^e SIÈCLE: LES HOMMES ET LEURS MENTALITÉS. By *Christianne Marcilhacy.* Preface by *G. Le Bras.* [Histoire et sociologie de l'Église, Volume V.] ([Paris:] Sirey. 1964. Pp. xv, 501. 35 fr.)

THESE two excellent works proceed from Marc Bloch's premise that everything human is the true subject of history. Both authors have written earlier on the history of French political behavior; here they turn to religious behavior. Madame Marcilhacy has produced a full-blown regional study in the sociology of religion. She gives a detailed analysis of the social structure of the *Orléanais* over a century ago and uses it to explain the outlooks of the different classes. Her findings show that, for all classes, religion was more a matter of practice than of dogma. For the aristocracy it was as inextricably mixed with legitimism as it was with superstition among the poorer peasants. After 1848 the upper bourgeoisie, as well as the aristocracy, came to view religion as a bulwark of social order. In contrast, those classes, especially the *petite bourgeoisie,* that questioned the legitimacy of the Bourbons and then the social order were anti-Catholic and anticlerical. By 1850 religion had "become a party, and, at a time when political parties lacked substance, the most highly organized party. It was treated as such by outsiders."

The most striking impression one gets from these two books is that the nineteenth-century French clergy was almost hopelessly benighted. In 1962 Marcilhacy published a book (*Le diocèse d'Orléans sous l'épiscopat de Mgr Dupanloup, 1849–1878*) on the influence of the very able Bishop Dupanloup. And Monsieur Rémond describes the reforming efforts of Bishop Servonnet in the two ecclesiastical congresses at the end of the century. But, as Rémond admits, these congresses had no

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immediate effect on the die-hard reactionaries within the Church hierarchy. Only in the twentieth century did French ecclesiastics begin to abandon their provincialism and their obscurantism for a concerted effort to deal with contemporary problems on the national level. The teaching orders and the urban priests were better educated than the rural clergy, yet even they were unable to instill much more than routine piety in their flocks. Marcilhacy confirms Gabriel Le Bras's generalization that, in the countryside, religion had always been largely perfunctory and that the myth of a solidly Christian France was invented by the counterrevolutionaries.

New York University EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

LAS COMUNIDADES DE CASTILLA: UNA PRIMERA REVOLUCIÓN MODERNA. By *José Antonio Maravall.* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente. 1963. Pp. 252. 100 ptas.)

THE revolt and the ensuing civil war of Castilian towns—the *Comunidades*—against Charles V (1519–1521) was a people's movement of components so multiple and complex as to have been interpreted, variously, as a liberating revolution or as a reactionary, feudal movement. In the last 150 years it has been described, praised, or condemned in all shades of opinion between the two extremes. True, the many strains of this movement included the wish to return to glorified conditions of the past, and the nobles who led the people's armies against the royalists of their own class were probably moved by personal ambition rather than by a more modern sympathy for the oppressed masses. Also, the concurrent social revolt of the *Germanías*—Christian brotherhoods—of Valencia was marred by excesses of a religious-fanatic-racist persecution of the Moors, who were forced to undergo baptism. Yet it was a popular revolt nevertheless, a people's struggle for liberty against the encroachments of a rising absolutism. When the late Dr. Gregorio Marañón declared that the people should be regarded as "Rightist," while the royalist nobles who defended the Emperor's cause were "liberals," and, in fact, the "Left" (*Antonio Pérez* [1954]), he seemed not only to misapply the modern concepts of "Left" and "Right" anachronistically, but also to misread the essential character of the revolt.

Among several writers who tried to reassess the problem recently, José Antonio Maravall has done outstanding work. In this brilliant essay he shows that, besides defending their ancient liberties, the *Comuneros* were evolving aspirations toward a more equable distribution of property, the abolition of the nobility, and the curtailment of monarchical power. On the way to fighting for a constitutional government, the *Comunero* rebellion became the first phase in the history of the revolutionary process of the Third Estate. The ancient "liberties"—originally meaning merely the economic liberty of not paying taxes—eventually assumed the radical concept of political, clearly democratic "liberty," justly to be defended by arms. Naturally, the *Comunidades* had no models for real democracy to follow; their ideal was the Italian city-state that, though in practice oligarchic and often subject to a local tyrant, at least gave the illusion of municipal self-government and was not subject to a king. Yet the *Comuneros'* initial objective was not to

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suppress the monarchy as such, but to impose limits on its power. Maravall, who documents his searching analysis with excellent chapter notes, sees a plan for the democratic organization of government, the supremacy of the Cortes over a king, to be the ultimate aspiration underlying the *Comunero* movement. In short, had the *Comuneros* been militarily victorious, Maravall holds, the Spanish people would have developed a genuine democracy, a constitutional monarchy like the English.

Though the events discussed here are nearly 450 years in the past, nothing could be of greater actuality than Maravall's defense of the beginnings of Spanish democracy—a democracy almost never allowed to live, yet never quite dead.

Westport, Connecticut ERIKA SPIVAKOVSKY

LE MYTHE DE LA CROISADE DE FRANCO. By *Herbert R. Southworth.* Translated by *S.M.-S.* (Paris: Ruedo Ibérico. 1964. Pp. viii, 327.)

THIS bibliographical critique of writings about the Spanish Civil War by literary, intellectual, and journalistic figures is in some ways similar in purpose to Aldo Garosci's *Gli intellettuali e la guerra di Spagna* (1961), though much more polemical in tone. In part it was written to refute the narrow, politically slanted accounts by Vicente Marrero, *La guerra española y el trust de cerebros* (1961), and Rafael Calvo Serer, *La literatura universal sobre la guerra de España* (1962). While combating the "myths" propagated by bibliographical studies published in Franco Spain, Southworth also convincingly demonstrates the extent to which Calvo Serer plagiarized Garosci and Jürgen Rühle's *Literatur und Revolution: Die Schriftsteller und der Kommunismus* (1960).

The present volume is a revised French edition of the Spanish version published in Paris by Ruedo Ibérico in 1963. The original English-language manuscript apparently has never been printed. In addition to the analysis of writings by intellectuals and littérateurs, there is a brief discussion of historical studies of the Civil War, as well as several chapters on particular problems. Southworth's studies of the reports made on the Badajoz massacre and on the resistance of the Alcazar both present useful material. Though the polemical tone of the book detracts from its value, this is the most detailed bibliographical critique yet written of the literature on the Spanish Civil War.

University of California, Los Angeles STANLEY G. PAYNE

HISTORY OF THE LOW COUNTRIES: EPISODES AND PROBLEMS. THE TREVELYAN LECTURES 1963 WITH FOUR ADDITIONAL ESSAYS. By *Pieter Geyl.* (London: Macmillan and Company; New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 263. 35*s.*)

CONSISTING of the six George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures given by Pieter Geyl at the University of Cambridge in 1963 and four earlier pieces, the present volume provides the best summation for non-Dutch readers of the historical, as distinct from the critical, work of the eminent Dutch historian. The three volumes extracted from his *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse stam* (1930–37) and translated

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into English as *The Revolt of the Netherlands* (1932) and *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century* (2 vols., 1961–64) were written with Dutch audiences in mind; Geyl therefore took for granted a common fund of familiar historical knowledge that few readers outside the Netherlands possess, and gave his attention to fresh analysis and evaluation.

Granted the opportunity of the Cambridge lecture series, Geyl reworked ground he had already covered, from the sixteenth century Revolt of the Netherlands and the resulting split of North and South to the emergence of Benelux and the Common Market in the twentieth century. The new presentation, however, took the needs of an English-speaking audience into account. With his customary skill in combining exposition and debate, Geyl presents the essential information for which he proposes new explanations. These approaches, Geyl's central contributions as a historian, are two: the better-known "Great Netherlands" theory, which encompasses the history of Holland and Belgium, as we now familiarly call the northern and southern Low Countries, into a single organic entity; and the more specialized studies of the connection between the dynastic Houses of Orange and Stuart in the seventeenth century. The earlier lectures and articles with which Geyl fills out the volume were selected to fill gaps in his themes; they had previously been published in English in the American (though not the English) edition of *Encounters in History* (1961). It should be remarked that the skepticism about the European Common Market and its political concomitants that marks the final lecture was not born of very recent difficulties, but has been Geyl's attitude toward the "Europeans" since their emergence as a political force.

Rutgers University HERBERT H. ROWEN

ACTA CAPITULORUM PROVINCIAE GERMANIAE INFERIORIS ORDINIS FRATRUM PRAEDICATORUM AB ANNO MDXV USQUE AD ANNUM MDLIX, SEC. CODICEM PARISIENSEM *ARCH. NAT.* LL, 1530. Edited by *S. P. Wolfs, O.P.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xlviii, 270. Glds. 23.75.)

NOTING a general lack of available source material on the Dominican order in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, Father Wolfs has brought to light a document that had escaped attention since it was compiled and deposited in France's Archives Nationales in 1703. The Parisian Dominican Jacobus Échard, following visits to several monasteries in the area, in that year recorded the *Acta* of his order's Province of Lower Germany from 1515 to 1559. A history of the Dominican order from 1465 to 1680 had been projected, with Échard's material apparently intended as partial spadework for it.

The *Acta* are the decisions rendered by the twenty-four meetings of the chapters general of the province during the years in question. Their initial date, 1515, marks the establishment of the Province of Lower Germany, the result of an administrative reorganization of the Dominican provinces of Northwest Europe to correlate with the new political boundary between the French and the Habsburgs. "Germania Inferior," meant to include the Dominicans of the Netherlands and adjacent areas subject to Charles V, encompassed the old congregation of Holland

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and portions of the old provinces of Saxonia, Teutonia, and Francia. The terminal date of the *Acta,* 1559, seems to have been chosen only because it is a political watershed; it is of no intrinsic importance for the Dominicans. Wolfs supplies an informative introduction to the *Acta,* but his most painstaking labors consist of extensive annotations and appendixes. Persons, places, and events are identified, Dominicans are separated from non-Dominicans, and lists are provided of the officers of the province and of its component monasteries.

Aside from their obvious benefit to someone who might wish to write a history of the province, the *Acta* and the editor's commentaries are of highly limited usefulness. The provincial conclaves during these years must certainly have dealt heavily with the impact of Lutheranism, but the formal decisions say little on this great issue. Individual Dominicans are admonished or denounced because of Lutheran heresies without the nature of the charges or the reasons for the verdicts being revealed. The editor in a few of these cases has been able to furnish pertinent details. In general, substantive issues, or hints of them, are few and far between, while such organizational routine as appointments and transfers heavily dominates. Some contemporary illustrations are included, but the reader would have been more practically served by a detailed map.

University of North Carolina, Greensboro JORDAN E. KURLAND

THE ENGLISH REFORMED CHURCH IN AMSTERDAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *Alice Clare Carter.* [Publications of the Municipal Archives of Amsterdam, Number 3.] (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema NV. 1964. Pp. 238. Glds. 25.)

THE English Reformed Church in Amsterdam is to be distinguished from the Separatist assemblies that form a portion of our own prehistory. In 1607, when Protestant services began in the Begynhof, they were performed by an ordained Englishman in accordance with the Dutch Calvinist order of worship. The municipality of Amsterdam paid some of the bills and seems to have exercised fairly effective control over the life of the little community, which never exceeded some 450 members. Thus the English Reformed Church corresponds with those of the Huguenots in the United Provinces. Except for the fact that the English language was used, the Church was an integral part of the Dutch Reformed polity.

Although there were some awkward moments, as when prayers had to be said for the success of the Dutch fleet during the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665–1667, the arrangement worked fairly well. The little group managed to retain its identity, to provide for its poor and its orphans, and to keep up its reputation by exercising a fairly strict control over the lives of its members. Of course there were difficulties. Bankrupts and their wives could not be allowed to participate in the Holy Supper until they had made satisfactory arrangements with their creditors. Often an English husband attended services at the Begynhof while his Dutch wife went to her own church. If the marriage was unhappy, the English Church had to intervene, if only to protect its own standing with the Amsterdam classis. On one occasion a husband had entered into a bigamous relationship while on a visit

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to England, to the fury of his Dutch wife's relatives. More frequently there were complaints about wife beating, customary in English but not in Dutch families.

Mrs. Carter has made good use of the well-preserved Begynhof archives. Her topical analysis involved her in some avoidable repetition, while her book is marred by an excessive number of printing errors. It is unfortunate that only one membership list, of 1649, is included in an appendix; the list of officers is complete. On the whole, the author is to be congratulated for a useful and interesting chapter in social history.

University of North Carolina STEPHEN B. BAXTER

ONDERGANG: DE VERVOLGING EN VERDELGING VAN HET NEDERLANDSE JODENDOM, 1940–1945. In two volumes. By *J. Presser*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. xiv, 526; vii, 568. Glds. 29.50 the set.)

THE hideous story of the deportation of 110,000 Jews from the Netherlands during the occupation of that country by the Germans in World War II and the destruction of all but some 5,000 of them in the extermination camps of Central and Eastern Europe is fairly well known in its general outline. It has been told in English by Reitlinger in his study of the fate of European Jewry under the Nazis and more recently by Warmbrunn in his history of the Dutch under German occupation. In Dutch there are Herzberg's authoritative 250-page contribution to *Onderdrukking en Verzet* and the less scholarly, more journalistic monograph by Wielek.

The present two-volume history, which was commissioned by the Dutch Government Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam and which has been fifteen years in the making, constitutes the most detailed and most richly documented treatment of the subject to date. The author, a distinguished Dutch historian and professor of history at the municipal University of Amsterdam, has made an exhaustive search of the available records. He has interviewed survivors and has visited those camps in which large numbers of Dutch Jews perished. Though he occasionally fails to give the sources of direct quotations, he has for the most part exploited his sources of information in a professional way. He has examined the documents with a critical eye and selected his data with impartiality. Despite his total identification with the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, he does not gloss over their human weaknesses.

Nevertheless, perhaps because of the author's intense personal involvement with the events that he describes, his book does not appear to me to be the definitive account that it could have been. Presser portrays vividly what the Nazi extermination policy meant in individual suffering to well over 100,000 Dutch Jews. His work lacks, however, a wider historical perspective and a detachment that perhaps only the passage of more time can bring. He focuses almost exclusively on the Dutch Jewish victims. He does not relate their suffering to that of the Dutch people as a whole. He does not compare their fate with that of Jews elsewhere in Nazi dominated Europe. He makes less effort than does Herzberg to understand and explain the Nazi mentality and the workings of the Nazi bureaucracy.

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Even though he has had the possibility of hindsight, Presser still writes as if he were a contemporary. He has produced something more akin to collective autobiography than to history. His book complements, but does not supplant, the existing literature.

Washington, D. C. BERTUS H. WABEKE

STOCKHOLMS BLODBAD I EKONOMISK OCH HANDELSPOLITISK BELYSNING. By *Sven Svensson.* [Lunds Universitets Årsskrift, New Series, Section 1, Volume LVI, Number 2.] (Lund: CWK Gleerup. 1964. Pp. 296.)

AT Stockholm on November 4, 1520, Christian II, already king of Denmark and Norway, was crowned king of Sweden. Four days later a series of summary executions had taken place in the course of which about one hundred Swedes, who had opposed the King and the archbishop of Uppsala and who had been amnestied, perished. For his part in this massacre, Christian II was given by contemporaries the sobriquet tyrant, which he still bears for many who have been taught to regard him as the personification of cruelty, treachery, and injustice. When one recalls that the indirect consequences of the blood bath were the establishment of Swedish independence under the son of one of the victims and the deposition of Christian II from his Norwegian and Danish thrones as well, it is easy to understand why the event has been the object of intense investigation by generations of Swedish and Danish scholars.

The sources on the massacre are few and capable of varying interpretations. As such they have long been successfully used in universities for the learning of the techniques of historical criticism. They have also provided the basis for lively historical debate among historians on both sides of the Öresund. Normally the debate has been conducted in the major historical journals, and a recent example, which may properly be called the last word on the subject, is a penetrating article by the professor emeritus of history at the University of Göteborg, Curt Weibull, "Gustaf Trolle, Christian II och Stockholms blodbad" (*Scandia,* XXXI [No. 1, 1965], 1–54). Recently, two historians have published whole books on the question: Niels Skyum-Nielsen, *Blodbadet i Stockholm* (1964) and the present work. Svensson's intent is to write an essay of reconstruction, to synthesize existing knowledge, and, in the process, to present his own hypotheses. Refusing to limit himself to the establishment of facts critically drawn from and based upon primary sources, he often pushes the evidence rather hard. He wishes to place the massacre within the whole context of Danish economic and commercial policy in the Baltic, and he finds a key in the role of the German burghers of Stockholm, especially Gorius Holste. It is difficult to be completely convinced by his arguments, and the value of the book does not lie in the rather bold hypotheses or in debates with other historians but rather in the very assembling of a great quantity of information. Used with caution, the book is of interest and value to historians of the period. There is an eleven-page summary in English.

University of California, Riverside ERNST EKMAN

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SVENSK HISTORIA. Volume I, TIDEN FÖRE 1718, by *Jerker Rosén;* Volume II, TIDEN EFTER 1718, by *Sten Carlsson.* [Scandinavian University Books.] (Stockholm: Svenska Bokförlaget/Bonniers. 1962; 2d ed., 1964. Pp. xi, 735; x, 771.)

SUCCESSFULLY combining two features, a survey of the whole field and a generous guide to bibliography, this Swedish history is divided into fifteen major divisions, and each of these into sections; both divisions and sections have titles. At the end of almost every section appears a list of relevant studies, in which periodical literature is well represented. These lists, more than 140, bring the reader abreast of the latest research. What will be much appreciated is the inclusion of many titles, now two or three generations old, from the days when Positivism was in vogue. Brief annotations follow many of the titles; others are discussed at greater length, especially if some element of "revisionism" is involved. Preceding the textual material on each of the longer periods—prehistoric, medieval, early modern, and after 1718—is a bibliographical essay, averaging about a dozen pages. Here the basic sources and records for the period are described, while problems of internal criticism and general evaluation are taken care of. Collectively these 4 essays plus the more than 140 section lists make up a rich body of professional guidance. To many a craftsman in the field it will prove a delight.

The substantive emphasis is mainly on social, economic, and political aspects. Much attention is focused on the dynamics of order and social change. Developments relating to social mobility and the interpenetration of class influences are skillfully clarified. Generous attention, in the last century of the story, is given to broad popular movements. As an exercise in definition, the qualities ascribed to a popular movement as such are somewhat classic.

Intellectual and cultural movements, on the other hand, are less well taken care of; to me, romanticism and nationalism, as movements, remain relatively unfocused. Admittedly space is at a premium in a work of this type, but some readers will feel that a little more attention might have been given to the nineteenth-century disagreements over the union between Sweden and Norway.

The tone of the discourse is uniformly sober and objective. Few passages in either volume betray any sharpness of comment on other countries. The note of boasting about the days of national glamour is generally lacking. It is made clear in discussing Sweden's neutral position during the two world wars that its course was not always acclaimed in various quarters. Portrayals of national heroes, a Gustavus Adolphus or a Charles XII, are uniformly kept in a modest key; Gustavus V of recent memory is actually left somewhat tarnished.

The style of both volumes most of the time is crisp and succinct, at times even laconic. There is much instructive graphic material in the way of tables, maps, graphs, and lists of sovereigns and public personages. Some of these are original; others are drawn from well-chosen special studies. How clarifying these data can be at times is well displayed by the charts showing the relationship since 1867 of several dozen political groupings and parties—forming, dissolving, and reforming. Unfortunately, much of this graphic material is not easy to use, in the absence of any central listing to indicate page locations. The indexes in each volume are rather extensive (though some omissions are unexpected), but the two-

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fold arrangement under separate headings for biography and for subject matter may not make for the most expeditious use.

Notation of such editorial procedures cannot, however, mar favorable judgment on the larger accomplishment. Rosén and Carlsson have applied a prodigious effort to this work. Their enterprise will serve well the needs of the young doctoral candidate searching for a "topic," the convenience of the mature scholar seeking a quick orientation in materials outside his own specialized sector of study, and the interests of the informed general reader. *Svensk Historia* deserves a prominent place on the working shelf of every student of Northern European affairs, whether he is concerned with the Swedish story as such or with the general sweep of Scandinavian history.

New York University OSCAR J. FALNES

GALA SĀKUMS: VĒROJUMI UN VĒRTĒJUMI. By *Voldemārs Bastjānis.* (Stockholm: Memento. 1964. Pp. 175.)

THE few who have written on the 1934–1940 period in Latvian history have been mainly defenders of the Ulmanis' dictatorship. Thus, this book by a long-time Socialist deputy, onetime Finance Minister, and a critic of Ulmanis is a welcome addition to Latvian historical literature.

According to Bastjānis, the system of proportional representation, Prime Minister Ulmanis' desire for more power, and the need of Ulmanis and his supporters to save themselves from financial bankruptcy brought about the *coup d'état* of 1934. His indictment of proportional representation contains nothing new, being a restatement of Hermens' arguments. He has even incorrectly given the number of parties represented in the legislature in 1931 and thereafter as "27 or 28"; the correct number was twenty-four. What Bastjānis says about Ulmanis' desire for more personal power, his need to avert bankruptcy for himself and his friends, is revealing and clarifies these matters. After the defeat of Ulmanis' parliamentary attempts in 1933 to augment the authority of the executive branch of the government, he started planning how to increase his authority by other means. Because he and many of his supporters had misused government funds, were in debt, and faced bankruptcy, there were added incentives to deal a blow to the democratic institutions.

Yet, the Socialists, including Bastjānis, did not believe that there would be a *coup*. It did occur, however, on May 15, 1934, when Ulmanis had nearly all the Socialist deputies arrested, banned all opposition newspapers, prohibited all parties, and established a dictatorship.

The plotters claimed that they were acting in the Latvian national interests and that democracy would soon be re-established. As Bastjānis has rightly maintained, however, Ulmanis had no intention of restoring representative government. A corporate state was created in 1936; the same year Ulmanis became President, combining the powers of the former offices of President and Prime Minister.

The Ulmanis' dictatorship lasted until the incorporation of Latvia into the USSR in 1940. Unlike the Finns, the Latvians and the other Balts accepted the Soviet demands in 1939. In 1940 a government friendly to the Soviet Union

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was formed, and incorporation followed. It is highly doubtful whether there were many Balts who wanted to fight for their independence in 1939 or 1940. The Ulmanis' regime was not, therefore, entirely responsible for the loss of Latvian independence, as Bastjānis likes to believe.

Suffolk University JOHN DREIJMANIS

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF CITY DEVELOPMENT. Volume I, URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE. By *E. A. Gutkind.* ([New York:] Free Press of Glencoe. 1964. Pp. xvii, 491. $17.95.)

THERE are several merits to this oversized and overpriced volume on the urban history of Germany. The author conceives his project in extremely broad terms. He introduces his subject with a philosophical and historical essay on the multifarious meanings of city development around the world and then proceeds to apply geographic, demographic, and socioeconomic techniques to analyze the changing patterns of space and scale in human settlements. The book is, moreover, beautifully produced with a large number of contemporary records, maps, drawings, engravings, and, perhaps most exciting of all, an equal number of modern air views. These aerial photographs, which recall the author's previous work *Our World from the Air,* present an outstanding opportunity to visualize the contours and design of German cities, from the small ribbon street village of Finkenstein in Silesia to the radial structure of the Gärtnerplatz section of Munich. For the German historian, these pictures can be quite suggestive.

The book is divided into separate sections on physical topography; German history; the rise of rural settlements; the physical structure of residences, towns, and cities; and an itemized survey of the major centers of urban development in present-day Germany. The historical narrative contains many very general observations and very specific details.

Yet this volume obviously possesses some of the defects of its virtues. The introductory chapters have a tendency to overextend their generalizations into analogies of "I-Thou" relationships and distinctions between the sense of space and the idea of space in the Middle Ages. Such formulations are provocative but incompletely realized in the book. On the other hand, the final section is devoted to an unsystematic review of rather arbitrarily selected details of German cities. A more careful integration of these modes of presentation might have been more successful. Finally, in various places the author's hostility to aspects of modern civilization seems to keep bursting through and distorting the historical analysis. He talks about "the hotchpotch of international atrocities" in the last century and the senseless "Cult of the Street" in modern urban conglomerations.

This volume is the first in a world-wide survey of urban civilizations. I hope that the future studies will retain the same high standards of illustration and photography and will also find a more equitable level of generality and specificity in the narrative.

Harvard University RICHARD M. HUNT

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NEUN GENERATIONEN: DREIHUNDERT JAHRE DEUTSCHER "KULTURGESCHICHTE" IM LICHTE DER SCHICKSALE EINER HAMBURGER BÜRGERFAMILIE (1648–1948). In two volumes. By *Percy Ernst Schramm.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1963; 1964. Pp. 495; 653. DM 39.50; DM 58.)

HAMBURG has played a special role in modern German history. While it has always maintained its own distinct character, it has been, as a Hamburg document of 1690 rightly called it, one of the "cornerstones" of the Empire. Its contradictory position at once within and apart from the rest of Germany emerges from this unusual chronicle put together by Percy Ernst Schramm, one of Germany's leading historians. Drawing mainly on family archives, he has recorded the history of his family, which for nine generations has played a leading part in the affairs of the city. It is an extraordinary record. Bankers, merchants, lawyers, clergymen, senators, and one mayor (the author's father) pass in review, unrolling the history of their city.

Merchant interests and therefore the spirit of practicality prevailed in this leading Hanse city. Hamburg was spared the worst effects of the Thirty Years' War, and it managed to remain a spectator of the duel between Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa as well as of the French Revolution. The great divide in Hamburg's history was neither war nor revolution but the great fire in 1842 which destroyed one-third of the inner city; it allowed the city fathers to effect a bold reconstruction which made Hamburg an open, clean, modern city.

Hamburg's outward orientation (in particular toward England and the Americas) is reflected in the first name of the author; it comes from his mother's family. The great-grandfather, Wilhelm Oswald, an Anglophile, changed his name to William O'Swald and gave to all his children English Christian names. Indeed the Hamburg style of life was in many ways English, and the Hamburgians were looked on by the rest of the Germans as "half-Englishmen." They had outgrown the retiring and restricting provincial life that continued to characterize most of Germany.

Hamburg's proud civic spirit is marked by the relation of the *Bürger* to the aristocracy. No nobleman was allowed to acquire real estate in the city; in fact the ennoblement of a Hamburg citizen was a source of regret and embarrassment to conservative circles in the city. Hamburg's upper class, which interestingly Schramm refrains from calling "patrician" because it absorbed many newcomers, based its claim to leadership upon achievement rather than upon imperial or princely grant.

Hamburg and Bismarck, the city of the *Bürgertum* and the Pomeranian *Junker,* seem offhand to make an unbridgeable contrast. It was accented by the old Bismarck's famous remark upon his visit to the harbor: "This, gentlemen, is a world which I no more understand." On the other hand Schramm records that the Hamburg citizenry responded to the events of 1867 and 1870–1871 with considerable satisfaction and participation. After 1867 Hamburg ships could go to sea under the protection of the black, white, and red flag; the Hamburgians became proud Germans. Even in Hamburg the title of nobility, imperial decorations, and uniforms eventually came to be regarded as desiderata.

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Interesting sections in the second volume cover the 1918 Revolution and the Kapp *Putsch*. In 1919 finally Hamburg got its university, thus affirming a so far not self-evident principle that a mercantile center ought also to be a cultural center. The period of National Socialism is strangely glossed over. It is known that Hitler as Chancellor never did set foot in this Hanseatic city. Schramm himself, as keeper of the *Wehrmacht* diary, envisages himself in retrospect as "notary of the German decline." His father, the mayor, in a letter of 1922, had written to him that the only remedy for the hatred against the Germans was "time." Now, after the catastrophe (an extensive section covers the bombings of Hamburg and reconstruction after the Second World War), Schramm repeatedly laments the absence of "miracles" in German history. Is it merely time, merely miracles that are needed for a regeneration of the German image? These conclusions of Schramm's rather reflect the shortcomings of the Hamburg tradition of noninvolvement, of passivity in relation to national affairs.

Altogether these volumes, expertly edited and beautifully illustrated, constitute a precious historical source.

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

KURFÜRST KARL PHILIPP VON DER PFALZ ALS REICHSFÜRST. By *Hans Schmidt*. [Forschungen zur Geschichte Mannheims und der Pfalz, New Series, Number 2.] (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut. 1963. Pp. 370. DM 28.)

CHARLES Philip, Elector Palatine, was among that sizable group of eighteenth-century German princes whose politics were shaped by an elevated concept of sovereignty, vast and laboriously advanced claims for land and titles, and actual resources wholly inadequate to support their ideological and territorial pretensions. Because he was the fourth son of a man who himself was not in direct line of succession, the likelihood of his achieving the electoral crown seemed at first remote, and much of his early years was spent in the imperial service. Marriage to a Radziwill led to a hopeless candidature for the Polish throne in the elections of 1697. In 1705 he was appointed governor of the Tirol, a post he held until 1716, when as the last male representative of his line he succeeded his brother John William as reigning prince in Heidelberg. The external affairs of his long reign were marked by conflict with Prussia over the duchies of Jülich and Berg, increasingly close collaboration among the several branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty, and efforts to preserve for his exposed state a measure of independence from its more powerful neighbors. He died in 1742, soon after helping elect his relative, Charles Albrecht of Bavaria, the German Emperor.

His life is narrated and documented, rather than analyzed, in this revised dissertation by a student of Franz Schnabel. The author draws on unpublished material in the Munich and Vienna archives to add to our knowledge of the Elector's foreign policies, but nothing in his study alters the impression that Charles Philip was an indifferent diplomat. Though intensely concerned with international power, he understood little about it. The Palatinate no longer afforded its rulers much scope in European affairs; still, the Elector's thoughts ran too exclusively in the

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paths of dynastic politics, of subsidies, dignities, and precedence. The authority he could not achieve abroad he exerted more successfully at home. Only in his dealings with the Reformed Church, which finally led to diplomatic intervention by England and Prussia, were some limits placed on the absolutist character of his government. His intolerance helped damage him in the eyes of the liberal and nationalist historians of the nineteenth century, and the author rightly condemns the exaggerated criticisms found in the antiparticularist interpretations of Häusser and Droysen. To their brilliant and unsympathetic treatments he opposes no synthesis of his own; his book is useful not for its evaluation of Charles Philip—which is disjointed and unsuitably apologetic—but for its additional illustrations of the diplomatic style employed by minor German courts in the last century of the Empire.

University of California, Davis PETER PARET

LANDESGESCHICHTE IN DER ZEIT DER DEUTSCHEN SPÄTAUFKLÄRUNG: LUDWIG TIMOTHEUS SPITTLER (1752–1810). By *Joist Grolle.* [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Number 35.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1963. Pp. 158. DM 18.60.)

THROUGH an examination of L. T. Spittler's works on the German territorial state, Grolle succeeds in bringing to light some of the key "intellectual and political suppositions" of this important, though neglected, area of eighteenth-century German historical thought. In these writings, throughout which Spittler constantly contrasts the political constitution of the "deutsche Territorialwelt" with the large-scale, expansionist monarchies of his time, there sounds a theme much discussed ever since: "Germany and the West."

Writing his histories of Württemberg, Hanover, and many of his reviews on the historiography of this "Territorialwelt" in the shadow of the impending French Revolution, Spittler combined his lifelong unshaken respect for tradition with a deep trust in the ultimate "ratio" of history. It is in these writings, according to Grolle, rather than in his better-known works on church history and the European state system, that Spittler best comes to grips with his own historical world in terms of this enlightened traditionalism. Still far from Hegel's dynamic, dialectical conception of revolution, Spittler, a leading representative of the pragmatic "Göttingen school," tended to view both the past and the contemporary political order as two aspects of a single, indissoluble continuum. In accordance with this historical perspective, he took the medium-sized territorial state, such as his native Württemberg, with its comparatively solid burgher class, and a Hanover under British dominion, as his political model. Unlike Justus Möser, however, whose historical interest in the territorial state was awakened by the charm of its local color and a sense of identity with his native locale, Spittler viewed it strictly as an ideal political form, characterized by inner continuity, favorable to the invigoration of the burgher class and its constitutional conception of freedom, yet lacking the inordinate ambitions of a Great Power and not susceptible to degeneration into despotism.

Grolle makes particularly good use of personal correspondence, probably the

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freest medium of literary expression in late eighteenth-century Germany. What seems to be missing in Grolle's book is a sense of the tragic reactionism involved in Spittler's attempt to adapt the *Weltanschauung* of a revolutionary class to a situation where no such class existed, to a situation that did not and could not permit revolution. Spittler found an ideal historical model for the "deutschen Staatensystem" in the precarious balance of power in fifteenth-century Italy. Disregarding altogether, apparently, the melancholy fate of Italy, he praised the "wonderful balance of major powers in Northern Italy" on the grounds that local and national culture "rests almost exclusively on the separation of a country into several small states." Thus, he hoped and anticipated that the *Fürstenbund* of 1785 between Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, formed for the purpose of checking Austria's renewed hegemonic drive in Germany, would lead to a regeneration of the *Reich* and the "altreichsständische Geist." It is to be hoped that Grolle does not see in this reactionism a rationale for contemporary Germany and its role in world politics.

Yale University ROBERT ANCHOR

FERDINAND AUGUST GRAF SPIEGEL UND DAS VERHÄLTNIS VON KIRCHE UND STAAT, 1789–1835: DIE WENDE VOM STAATSKIRCHENTUM ZUR KIRCHENFREIHEIT. Volume I, DARSTELLUNG; Volume II, QUELLEN UND VERZEICHNISSE. By *Walter Lipgens*. [Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission Westfalens, Number 18. Westfälische Biographien, Number 4.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1965. Pp. xxi, 550; 554–832. Cloth DM 110, paper DM 98 the set.)

SKEPTICS may ask whether the author's efforts and the reader's time and money are well spent on such a massive (and expensive) life of an unspectacular nineteenth-century cleric who is likely to get no more than a line or so in the textbooks and perhaps no place at all in the heads of most students. Open-minded skeptics will, however, be convinced by the author's justification of his venture. Most of us have known Spiegel only as the rationalist and complaisant archbishop of Cologne whose less accommodating successor precipitated the so-called "Cologne Troubles" between the Catholic Church and the Prussian state over the issue of mixed marriages. From this book he emerges as a figure important in his own right, whose career illustrates the interesting and difficult problems of Church-state relations in Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic Germany and illuminates the complex reaction in the Church to the Enlightenment and German idealism.

Biography provides access to religious, political, and intellectual history. Lipgens can claim to have shown, by diligent exploitation of a wealth of hitherto unused archival material and with due regard to previous scholarly work, that the traditional image of Spiegel has been distorted by ignorance and prejudice; that by the time of his elevation to the see of Cologne he had left behind his earlier worldly and easygoing Erastianism; and that this development represented much less a conscious shift in his intellectual or theological position than a reaction to personal experiences and to contemporary tendencies and events in ecclesiastical politics, above all Napoleon's abolition of the German prince-bishoprics and his

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plans for an Erastian imperial papacy, and on the other hand the religious revival and the growing demand for less secular-minded churches. Lipgens contends that Archbishop Droste, Spiegel's successor, embarked on the course of action that led to his imprisonment and eventually to a favorable settlement for the Church not on the grounds of principle that Spiegel had prepared but from a combination of willfulness and incompetence. At the same time Lipgens does not conceal the unamiable sides to Spiegel's own character.

The book, sometimes prolix, is immaculate in production and scholarship. The second volume consists entirely of previously unpublished documents and archival and bibliographical information. Both volumes provide not only an absorbing story but also materials and incentives for further research for years to come, particularly, perhaps, into the relation between political liberalism and religious revival.

University of Keele W. M. Simon

BREMENS DEUTSCHE UND HANSEATISCHE POLITIK IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Helmut Festerling*. [Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Number 33.] (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag. 1964. Pp. 160.)

Although the Hanseatic League declined before 1400, the three free towns of Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg continued to maintain a skeleton Hanse by occasionally signing common commercial treaties. But official cooperation ended with the dissolution of the *Reich* in 1806, and thereafter the problem facing these towns was one of adjustment to the peculiar workings of the German Confederation. Little research has been done on this subject, and Festerling's monograph has successfully presented new information. His book provides interesting background material for a study of both Hanseatic and confederation economic policies between 1815 and 1848 by describing the shifting policy of Bremen (and to a certain extent also that of Hamburg and Lübeck) to the confederation. Most of the account, however, is based on the letters and reports of Johann Smidt, Bremen's mayor and long-time delegate to the *Bundesversammlung* in Frankfurt. Only a few pages are devoted to the books of Arnold Duckwitz, Smidt's understudy in the Bremen Senate and *Reichshandelsminister* in 1848. Thus most of what is described is seen through Smidt's eyes and tends to be slightly apologetic in tone.

Smidt's chief concern throughout this period was with preserving the republican constitutions of Hanseatic towns against the aggressive designs of monarchical states. The confederation was to be the guarantor of Hanseatic independence, but the Carlsbad decrees and subsequent strengthening of Great Power domination in Germany disillusioned him, as did the failure of all attempts to establish a common economic policy for the confederation. In the end Smidt favored cooperation with the Prussian *Zollverein,* but only within the framework of the *Bund* constitution!

It is regrettable that the author has not continued his story through the Revolution of 1848, for the material he has researched in no small way illuminates the background of the economic policies of the revolutionary government. Certainly

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an assessment of Smidt's influences on Duckwitz during the Revolution ought to have been made, for it might have given a needed economic perspective on why the Revolution failed.

University of Alberta HELEN P. LIEBEL

GUSTAV STRESEMANN: PATRIOT UND EUROPÄER. By *Felix Hirsch*. With a foreword by *George P. Gooch*. [Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, Number 36.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1964. Pp. 112.)

PROFESSOR Hirsch has devoted the last twenty years to a careful study of the personality and activity of Stresemann, whom he rightly regards as the greatest and perhaps the only statesman of the Weimar Republic. Both Stresemann and Hirsch were born in Berlin; the younger man heard an address by Stresemann, who at that time stood far to the Right of him, for the first time in 1917. Later on, as a political journalist, he had many occasions to observe Stresemann acting on the stage of European politics, and thirty-five years ago, the year when Stresemann prematurely died at the age of fifty-one, he saw him for the last time. Hirsch is preparing a full-fledged Stresemann biography. Meanwhile he published this brief and eloquent tribute to the man who, though misunderstood and persecuted by his own party, the Rightist and nationalistic *Deutsche Volkspartei*, worked hard to build bridges of understanding with France and Britain and thus, to a certain degree, anticipated Adenauer's policy.

The author devotes a relatively large part of his slim volume to Stresemann's youth and early life, and these pages contain valuable information unknown to those who were aware only of the mature and famous Stresemann of the Weimar period. Of lower-middle-class background—his father owned a beer tavern—both Stresemann and his father shared the ideas of 1848. As a young man, however, Stresemann did not join the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*, the liberal heirs of the ideals of 1848, but the National Liberal party, warm supporters of Bismarck's policy. When he entered the *Reichstag* in 1907, he was its youngest member.

It is well known that during the First World War Stresemann was among the many aggressive nationalists. As a representative of German industrialists he was received by Bethmann Hollweg and demanded the annexation of the iron ore districts of Longwy-Briey, of Belgium, Poland, Latvia, and Estonia. According to Stresemann, the Chancellor agreed with these demands, but in his extremism Stresemann later passionately attacked Bethmann Hollweg as "too weak." His own optimistic expectation of a *Siegfrieden* remained unshaken even in the last year of the war when he supported the policy of the supreme army command and admired Ludendorff.

The more astonishing was Stresemann's development after 1920. Hirsch stresses the European aspects of his subject's patriotism. Stresemann sincerely desired the cooperation of France and Britain with Germany in a European triumvirate and accepted the guarantee of French and Belgian eastern borders. We hear less of his emphasis on Poland as part of Europe and of a guarantee of the Polish-German frontiers.

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Hirsch is not an uncritical admirer of Stresemann. An unusual man, full of contradictions, comes alive in these brilliantly written pages. The author's sympathy with Stresemann's post-1920 policy endows the writing with a warmth that makes the reading of the book a real pleasure. It receives its depth from the author's unusual personal familiarity with the men and problems of the Weimar Republic and from his extensive research not only in documents but through correspondence and interviews with Stresemann's contemporaries, most of whom have since died. Let us hope that Hirsch will soon be able to finish his magnum opus on Stresemann.

University of Pennsylvania HANS KOHN

THE RED KINGDOM OF SAXONY: LOBBYING GROUNDS FOR GUSTAV STRESEMANN, 1901–1909. By *Donald Warren, Jr.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xii, 105. Glds. 11.75.)

PROFESSOR Warren has endeavored to trace Gustav Stresemann's early career as a lobbyist and budding politician in Saxony. Biographers of the German statesman have not shown any great interest in the formative years of his public career, a neglect that the present study seeks to remedy in part. To set the scene the author offers a *tour d'horizon* of political and socioeconomic conditions in Germany around the turn of the century, emphasizing especially the crosscurrents in such issues as governmental economic policies, conflicts between business and agriculture, and lobbying activities of national industrial, manufacturing, and agricultural associations. As expected, many of the data that the author has culled from statistical publications and the standard historical works bear on Saxon rather than German conditions.

The three chapters devoted to Saxon political and economic affairs constitute the core of the study and prove quite informative. The author has taken pains to trace in some detail Stresemann's career as a lobbyist in Saxony and to chronicle his emergence as a politician. The influence of Naumann upon Stresemann, the affiliation with the National Liberals, the founding of the *Verband Sächsischer Industrieller,* the impact of the Crimmitschau strike, and the tortuous issue of Saxon electoral reform are but a part of the interesting account. One can also readily understand the author's lament that the activities of the lobbyist, given the nature of his function, are not easily traced and documented. However, a consolidation of Chapters II and III would have, to a minor degree perhaps, lessened the appearance of elusiveness. In view of the author's concluding assertions in the introduction, it is unfortunate that the reader is not offered a more extensive and comprehensive selection of quotes from Stresemann's writings and speeches. No doubt the years in Saxony had a decided influence upon Stresemann's political career, and an extended treatment and consideration of his political and economic views would not have been out of place. Inaccurate translations of such terms as *Wirtschaftspolitik, Gesellen,* and others do not detract from the merits of the book.

University of Texas WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

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STAATSKUNST UND KRIEGSHANDWERK: DAS PROBLEM DES "MILITARISMUS" IN DEUTSCHLAND. Volume III, DIE TRAGÖDIE DER STAATSKUNST: BETHMANN HOLLWEG ALS KRIEGSKANZLER (1914–1917). By *Gerhard Ritter.* (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1964. Pp. 707. DM 48.)

THE problem of militarism has always seemed to Gerhard Ritter to be the key to an understanding of modern Germany history, and in his masterful study of civilian-military relations, which now approaches completion, he has analyzed its various manifestations with authority and incisiveness. In the first volume of this great work he showed how the subversion of civilian control over policy was attempted first by Blücher and Gneisenau during the Wars of Liberation (Chapter III), and then, with more determination and realism than the chiefs of the Silesian Army, but with no more success, by Helmuth von Moltke in his confrontation with Bismarck in 1870 (Chapter VIII). In the second volume, he demonstrated the manner in which the same objective was advanced by the growing irresponsibility of the Military and Naval Cabinets and the General Staff in the last years of peace (Chapters VIII–X). Now, in this third installment, he describes the final break-through of the soldiers, that fateful conquest of political power by the *Oberste Heeresleitung* which was consummated in July 1917 and which, by imposing a military dictatorship on the country, transformed the perennial problem of German history "into hard reality."

Despite their success in winning what their nineteenth-century predecessors had failed to achieve, it is not the victorious military politicians of 1914–1917 who dominate this third volume. Hindenburg, with his wooden self-assurance and his highhanded behavior toward his sovereign and his sovereign's ministers, and Ludendorff, that curious mixture of military genius and political zanyism, whose schemes for the reconstruction of Eastern Europe Ritter calls "Phantasien eines Kadettengehirns," are relatively shadowy figures here, shapes in the coulisses, whose actions are felt but who are rarely seen. The man who is constantly in the center of the stage is the wartime Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, and this is essentially a book, the best we possess, about his policies, his dilemmas, and the combination of circumstances that led to his fall.

Since the appearance of Fritz Fischer's *Griff nach der Weltmacht,* Bethmann has been the subject of lively debate among German historians. Fischer's argument—that the traditional view of the Chancellor as a man of peace is mistaken and that he was in fact a *Realpolitiker* whose desire for German expansion was as pronounced and grandiose as that of the East Elbian *Junker,* the *Kriegszielbewegung,* and the soldiers—has elicited responses from Egmont Zechlin and Karl Dietrich Erdmann and has been criticized in several reviews and articles by Ritter himself. Here he has kept his text free of specific allusions to Fischer's thesis, confining such comments to the notes, where, however, he raises serious questions about the Hamburg historian's use of the documents and the conclusions he draws from them (for instance, in his treatment of the Kreuznach conference between Bethmann and the OHL on April 23, 1917, in which Fischer finds a correspondence of view between the Chancellor and the generals that Ritter, on the basis of material not cited by Fischer, denies).

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Bethmann's enemies fastened on him the label "the philosopher of Hohenfinow." Ritter denies the implication of impracticality and lack of realism. Bethmann, he insists, was not unworldly or given to idle speculation, but was "an intellectual who lacked a wholly secure instinct for power, . . . did not enjoy possessing it, but regarded doing so as an iron responsibility in the service of the national state and the traditions of the Prusso-German monarchy. . . . He was not 'weak of will' but followed his goals with astonishing stubbornness and courageous consistency. At the same time he was not a fighter, the kind of *robuster Willensmensch* who follows his own power objectives without being distracted and who shuns no means, not even cunning, lies and intrigue, when he cannot succeed without them. He was sensitive, conscientious, scrupulous, and that was a disadvantage in a struggle with a man as uncompromising and willful as Ludendorff."

But what really defeated Bethmann in his duel with the OHL was the *mystique* that attaches itself to successful, or apparently successful, soldiers in wartime. To keep the military under control and to moderate their war aims, the Chancellor would have had to possess the kind of popular backing that was impossible to find in a country with Germany's traditions. Bethmann was always conscious of this fatal weakness, but nevertheless persisted in his efforts to restrain his military rivals. Ritter admits that, in the great crisis of 1914, he was overborne by their technical arguments and swept into a war from which he expected the worst. But in the subsequent period he fought valiantly for the authority of his office, successfully denied Chief of Staff Falkenhayn's right to intervene in political matters, won a signal victory over Tirpitz and the admirals in 1915, and worked steadily to prevent the soldiers from winning the right to define Germany's war aims. He early saw that the ambitions of the expansionists were unrealistic, and his chief reason for seeking the replacement of Falkenhayn by Hindenburg was his belief that the popular field marshal would be able to persuade the German people to accept a reasonable peace. This was perhaps Bethmann's worst mistake, for Hindenburg and Ludendorff proved to be less controllable and far greedier than Falkenhayn ever was, and they very quickly turned against the Chancellor.

Ritter makes no attempt to conceal Bethmann's weaknesses, his condoning of the Belgian deportations, for instance, and his recurring disposition to accept the technical arguments of the military at their face value. But in his discussion of the most tragic manifestation of this last trait, the submarine decision of January 1917, he asks whether there was any real alternative to the course Bethmann followed and argues persuasively that it would have taken a man of wholly extraordinary will and assurance to oppose a course of action demanded by all of the responsible military leaders, as well as by the Emperor, the *Reichstag* majority, and most politically active Germans, including some of the Social Democrats.

In the last chapters of this remarkable book Ritter describes, with hitherto unequaled detail and documentation, the Chancellor's vain attempt to chart a course in foreign policy that would be tolerable both to the high command and to his Austrian allies, who were sometimes inclined to deal directly with the OHL without his knowledge, and the way in which he was ultimately betrayed by the very parties in the *Reichstag* whose real interest lay in supporting him. In this last con-

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nection, he suggests that the very fact that a man like Erzberger, whose political limitations are shown by the fact that he imagined that Prince Bülow would be better able to control the soldiers than Bethmann, should have played the key role in the July crisis of 1917 is a sad but revealing commentary on the weakness of the German political system and is in itself an almost adequate explanation of why the soldiers were able to seize control of the state.

Stanford University GORDON A. CRAIG

TOTAL WARFARE AND COMPULSORY LABOR: A STUDY OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IN GERMANY DURING WORLD WAR I. By *Robert B. Armeson.* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. x, 155. Glds. 19.75.)

THE ambitious title of this slim monograph is somewhat misleading. It is essentially an account of the genesis of the Auxiliary Service Law of 1916, cornerstone of the "Hindenburg Program" for total warfare. The unforeseen demands that modern war made upon Germany's economy in World War I soon led to serious shortages. While in the material sector these were alleviated thanks to the organizational genius of Walther Rathenau, there was no similar solution to the far more critical shortage of labor. Early proposals made by industry for a compulsory work law were fought by the unions and found little support among military and civilian agencies. It was only after August 1916 when Hindenburg and Ludendorff replaced Falkenhayn in the army's supreme command, that the industrialists gained sufficiently powerful allies in high places to see their schemes prevail. Resistance of the civilian authorities was overruled by the Emperor, and Secretary of the Interior Karl Helfferich soon became a firm supporter of the army's efforts to militarize every facet of national life. To obtain popular support for so sweeping a program, however, parliamentary backing for the proposed Auxiliary Service Law was considered desirable. It was in the *Reichstag* that some of the more drastic provisions of the law were modified and important concessions in the realm of social legislation were added. These, in turn, deprived the measure of much of its effectiveness. Subsequent attempts at amendment, sponsored by industry, failed. General Groener who, as head of the War Office, was in charge of coordinating the nation's war effort, proved remarkably liberal in his relations with labor, which finally cost him his job. On the whole the Auxiliary Service Law failed in its major objectives of creating a stable labor market and bridging the gap between the home and war fronts. Instead it helped to bring together the moderate parties of the Center and Left into what subsequently came to be called the "Weimar Coalition."

Professor Armeson's treatment of the subject, as far as it goes, is sound. One might take issue with such minor flaws as his use of the term "concentration camps" for the foreign workers' barracks in Germany, and his failure to employ the more customary terms of *Hilfsdienstgesetz* or Auxiliary Service Law, rather than National Service Law which he uses throughout. With the exception of the Stresemann *Nachlass,* the study is based entirely on published sources, even though important unpublished materials, notably the Groener Papers, are readily

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available. Despite these shortcomings, this is a useful contribution on a subject on which little has hitherto been available in English.

Yale University HANS W. GATZKE

MACHT UND VERBLENDUNG: KRIEGSZIELPOLITIK DER DEUTSCHEN BUNDESSTAATEN 1914/18. By *Karl-Heinz Janssen*. (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag. 1963. Pp. 342. DM 29.80.)

INTERESTING and well written, this book on the war aims of the German federal states during the First World War is an important contribution to the discussion started by Professor Fischer and his *Griff nach der Weltmacht*. It centers on, but does not limit itself to, the future of Alsace-Lorraine—to terminate its status as a Reichsland—and particularly on Bavaria's protracted negotiations to annex all or part of it after a victorious war. The impact of the policy of the federal states on the war aims of the German government is apparent when one considers the underlying causes. Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, and Württemberg, the largest German states after Prussia, were greatly concerned that Prussia, because of its desire for extensive annexations in the east and west, would emerge so strong at the end of the war that it would upset the federal balance of power in Germany and that the monarchical idea would suffer and the existing social order would be overturned if the federal states had not increased their power and prestige by the end of the war. Thus, annexation of territory in Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, Poland, and the Baltic States, or such other suitable compensations as the granting of a kingdom (Poland) or a dukedom (Kurland) to a member of the reigning dynasty of one of the federal states were considered necessary. Primarily involved in this policy were Prussia and the German states mentioned above, the army high command, the Foreign Ministry, and the Chancellor.

It is the author's contention, based on extensive documentation from various German state archives, that the Bavarian government, through its demands for Alsace, was in a position to exert pressure on the *Reich* government in favor of Prussian plans for the annexation of Belgium. This, plus Saxon designs on Poland and Kurland and Baden desires for parts of Lorraine, influenced considerably the war aims policy of the *Reich*. Much of this developed in the early years of the war and involved Bethmann Hollweg. It is at this point that Janssen takes issue with Fischer. In Janssen's opinion, the Chancellor, though he lacked energy and intuition, was well meaning and a responsible statesman and "nobody could have done it better." What then was at fault? According to Janssen, it was not a matter of personal deficiencies but the structural weakness of the German Constitution which, during the war, resulted in delayed decisions and avoidable political mistakes. The jealously guarded military powers of the Emperor made it impossible for the politicians to get a clear picture of the military situation, and the excesses committed by the military authorities and the steadily increasing power of the army high command were only some of the constitutional shortcomings in the face of which the Chancellor was powerless.

Janssen concludes that because of the federal character of the *Reich*—the federal princes had equal rights with the Emperor and the *Reich* Chancellor was, in

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domestic affairs, dependent on the assistance and cooperation of the federal states —Germany could not have embarked upon a war of conquest.

This is an interesting constitutional point. It is doubtful, however, whether it influenced German statesmen to any appreciable extent in the fateful months of 1914.

Washington, D. C. GEORGE O. KENT

BETRIEBSRÄTE IN DER NOVEMBERREVOLUTION: EINE POLITIKWISSENSCHAFTLICHE UNTERSUCHUNG ÜBER IDEENGEHALT UND STRUKTUR DER BETRIEBLICHEN UND WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN ARBEITERRÄTE IN DER DEUTSCHEN REVOLUTION 1918/19. By *Peter von Oertzen.* [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 25.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1963. Pp. 377.)

PETER von Oertzen has written a careful study of the *Betriebsräte* (factory councils) movement in the German Revolution. He presents the councils of the November Revolution as an example of a species of economic and social phenomenon endemic to modern industrial society rather than as a historical event treated primarily in relation to its own developmental context. Therefore his method and his development of the book differ from a purely historical treatment.

A general discussion of the bases of social conflict in the economic sphere is followed by the presentation of the theories of the advocates of the factory councils idea, in which factors common to various related movements are considered. Oertzen then explains his approach to the analysis of the German factory councils movement in 1918–1923.

Following his methodological introduction, the author proceeds to a careful and effective discussion of the situation of the German working class and its organs of political and economic expression in the Wilhelmian period, showing how the seeds of the factory councils movement were present well before World War I. Then follows the heart of the book: the discussion of the *Betriebsräte* movement in revolutionary Germany. Step by step and region by region, the movement is traced in a vigorous and sympathetic manner. The factual narrative is relatively thin, but carries the weight of the argument. The analysis of the development of the movement, which is well reasoned and soundly documented, is the major concern of Oertzen.

After completing his treatment of the *Betriebsräte* movement in action, the author in a masterly conclusion compares this movement with the contemporary English shop steward movement. He finally considers the general validity of the theory behind the factory councils movement and the significance of this movement for the future. In the course of this conclusion Oertzen seems on several occasions to be about to saw off the limb on which he is sitting, but, after the limb has fallen, it is clear that he really was not there after all. The conclusion alone is worth the price of the book.

This work is at once an important contribution to the history of the German

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Revolution of 1918 and a significant addition to the literature of political theory. It is, however, very difficult to read, primarily because it is often extremely closely reasoned but also because the footnotes are closely related to the text and require careful scrutiny. The effort is worth while, however, since the book is both sound and perceptive.

In general, Oertzen covers his subject thoroughly, but there are some significant omissions. Too, from the viewpoint of the historian, the emphasis is sometimes a bit askew. The concentration upon the German councils movement only as an example of a general phenomenon results in less detailed treatment of this movement than one would expect to find in a conventional historical treatment.

The author is obviously familiar with and uses selectively some of the more important items in the broad literature on the German Revolution of 1918. On the whole, however, he depends on primary sources drawn from the German archives, both West and East, although he uses a few published personal accounts, like those of Richard Müller, extensively. Safely basing his work on primary sources, he explodes a number of myths regarding the *Betriebsräte* movement and indeed concerning the Revolution itself, and he emphasizes the extent to which the Left Wing of the Independent Socialist party, rather than the Communist party (*Spartakusbund*), was the true bearer of the Revolution.

Despite the general excellence of this work, it has some serious weaknesses. First and most significant is Oertzen's failure to look at the problem of the interaction of the *Rätebewegung* with other political and social groups and movements beyond the limits of the industrial working class. A serious discussion of such interaction is of basic significance both for an analysis of the actual historical development of the movement and for a proper evaluation of its theoretical possibilities not only within German society but within any given society. Certainly this aspect of the problem cannot be safely ignored in Germany, where the establishment of a *Räterregierung* in Bavaria in 1919 drove that state far to the Right of its normal political posture, and the threat of a similar development in Saxony in 1923 resulted in a polarization of the Saxon political scene demanding outside intervention as the alternative to civil war.

Secondly, Oertzen overemphasizes the democratic nature of the factory councils movement in 1919. He speaks of it as representing "direct democracy" for the masses. However, it would, in fact, have disenfranchised far more people than it permitted to vote: women, except for those few who worked in factories, the middle classes, already very large in Germany, the peasants, and other landholders would have been among the disenfranchised. Even if the mass of the "brain workers" were won over and given the vote, therefore, many millions of Germans would be shorn of their political rights, and these rights would be vested in the hands of men whose interests were contrary to those of the disenfranchised.

Finally, in considering the possible significance of the *Rätebewegung* for the present, Oertzen passes over in silence the fact that in the so-called "developed" lands the classical worker is a member of a steadily shrinking social group and has also, as a result of prosperity and social mobility, lost much of his class consciousness even where he persists in considerable numbers. Such an evaluation of the future prospects of the *Rätebewegung* should, therefore, at least explore the

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possibility that the "working class" of the earlier phases of the Industrial Revolution is now becoming redundant.

However important one may wish to consider these shortcomings, anyone who is interested in recent German history or in the problem of class conflict should read this book.

University of Massachusetts HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

REVOLUTION IN BAVARIA, 1918–1919: THE EISNER REGIME AND THE SOVIET REPUBLIC. By *Allan Mitchell*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 374. $8.50.)

ALLAN Mitchell has written the best brief political study to date of Kurt Eisner, the genially ineffective Bohemian who became the first Premier of revolutionary Bavaria. But this is more than political biography; it is a clear and discerning account of all the Bavarian upheavals following World War I. Mitchell has made extensive and effective use of new archival and manuscript material. He has untangled the snarled web of local politics and traced skillfully the forces that produced, in turn, Eisner's republic, the incredible *Scheinräterepublik* associated with Ernst Toller, and the Soviet Republic of Leviné and Egelhofer. His analysis of the economic problems confronting each regime is particularly rewarding.

Eisner serves as the focal point of the book because his political career reflected the possibilities and the limitations of revolution in postwar Germany. While disagreeing with Arthur Rosenburg's high praise of Eisner, that he was "the only creative statesman" to emerge from the German Revolution, Mitchell gives a fair appraisal of his subject and is at his best in clarifying previously controverted issues. He argues persuasively that Eisner was not a separatist—although he sometimes talked like one. Nor was he, as nationalist writers have often insisted, a Bolshevist. He favored a system of councils, not because he wished to copy the recently established Russian Soviets, but because he was convinced that councils of workers, soldiers, and peasants would be a safeguard against Bolshevism as well as against counterrevolution. In his view these councils were to supplement parliament, not replace it.

Eisner failed in part because of serious economic problems and because he lacked broad political support. Neither the bureaucracy, nor the Majority Socialists, nor the peasants, nor the Catholic Church shared his vaulting visions for the future of mankind or endorsed his plans to effect "a radical transformation . . . of the entire life of Bavaria." But primarily, Mitchell concludes, his failure was a personal one: "Both in a noble and pejorative sense Eisner was a naïve man, and this ought to remain as his historical epitaph."

This fine monograph has a few flaws. The discussion of Eisner's actual role in the overthrow of the Wittelsbach dynasty is not satisfying. Mitchell says repeatedly that Eisner planned the *coup* of November 7, but the loose description of a vaguely wandering revolutionary who unaccountably disappeared for most of the afternoon does not support the thesis. We need to know more about the part played by the Catholic Church during the Revolution, for clearly Catholic opposition was a main force in the defeat of both Eisner and the Communists. A deeper

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study of Eisner's personality would also have been welcomed. But the achievements of the book clearly outweigh its deficiencies.

A good bibliographical essay and a useful postscript evaluating current Marxist interpretations of the German Revolution complete this valuable piece of work.

Williams College ROBERT G. L. WAITE

LANDBEVÖLKERUNG UND NATIONALSOZIALISMUS: EINE SOZIOLOGISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG DER POLITISCHEN WILLENSBILDUNG IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN 1918 BIS 1932. By *Rudolf Heberle.* [Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1963. Pp. 171. DM 9.80.)

IMPRESSIVE National Socialist gains in northern Germany during the last years of the Weimar Republic were a very important factor in the failure of German democracy. Nowhere was Hitler's success more sensational than in traditionally liberal Schleswig-Holstein, where the repudiation of liberalism was particularly conspicuous in the countryside. Many rural districts which before the war had faithfully supported the various liberal parties, and during the first years thereafter the Weimar coalition, were overwhelmingly National Socialistic by the summer of 1932.

This dramatic political transformation led the sociologist Rudolf Heberle, then at Kiel University, now at Louisiana State University, to analyze the political atmosphere of rural Schleswig-Holstein during the years 1918–1932. Begun in 1932 and completed after Hitler came to power, the study could not be published at that time. We are fortunate that the full text is now available. It is not, as the author stresses, a work of political history, but rather of political sociography. Many questions the historian of the period would ask are not raised, but others with which he would probably have great difficulty are carefully defined and competently answered. Aside from its specific value as a unique document in the history of the Third *Reich,* this is a splendid example of the valuable contribution that can be made to historical knowledge by sociology at its best.

Beginning with an introduction on the methodology of his investigation, Heberle's study contains chapters on the history of political opinion in Schleswig-Holstein from 1871 to 1932; the political and social structure of the individual geographical and cultural regions; economic and social stratification as factors in political change; the transformation of the social structure of rural Schleswig-Holstein; and, in conclusion, an excellent essay on political ideas and movements in Schleswig-Holstein from 1918 to 1932. Knowing the region and its people intimately and basing his conclusions not only on official statistics and election returns, but also on personal interviews and informal conversations during extensive field trips, often on foot, Heberle shows that the rise of National Socialism in Schleswig-Holstein can be understood only in terms of a multiplicity of interacting social, political, economic, and cultural factors, in many cases peculiar only to very limited regions.

These relatively objective factors were, moreover, frequently complicated by irrational considerations which were often no less important than the more tangi-

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ble issues. Heberle explains, for example, that the traditional liberalism of Schleswig-Holstein had been less an enlightened positive force than a veiled expression of opposition to the authoritarian regime in Berlin and, indeed, to modern industrial civilization (popularly identified with the new German Empire) and the threat it posed to an intensely traditional rural culture. The farmers of Schleswig-Holstein had been able to register their protest by voting liberal or even socialist until 1918; under the Weimar Constitution, however, the socialists and liberals ruled from Berlin. Consequently, anti-Prussian, particularist, and other disaffected elements switched their allegiance to the enemies of the new state, the National Socialists, whose way had been paved ideologically by a number of local movements and parties, whose painstaking attention at the grass-roots level to the individual problems of the troubled electorate won grateful support, and whose idealization of the Nordic race was hardly uncongenial to the great majority of the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein.

West Virginia University DONALD S. DETWILER

POLITISCHE STRÖMUNGEN IM SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEINISCHEN LANDVOLK, 1918–1933. By *Gerhard Stoltenberg*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Number 24.] (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1962. Pp. 218.)

EVER since Professor Heberle's *From Democracy to Nazism* (1945) pointed to the drastic change in the Schleswig-Holstein political climate after 1918, the transformation of this border province from a liberal to a Nazi stronghold during the Weimar period has been considered a key to the study of the rise of Hitler.

Dr. Stoltenberg limits his work to the rural population, which more than any other class typified this complete reversal of political alignment, but subjects the history of this segment to an exhaustive search of published and unpublished sources. The result is a vivid and objective account that neglects neither the historical and sociological background nor the interrelationships with the national scene. The author's assessments of persons and events are well founded, but he does not evolve a new thesis. It seems to me, however, that the work points to an absence of *Staatsbewusstsein* as the main basis for the Nazi success. While this deficiency is traced to the nineteenth century, it does not emerge in its disruptive form until 1919, and according to this study it was largely a matter of time and circumstances that it was seized by the Nazis as a vehicle for their rise to power. While the general validity of this point could probably not be resolved within the framework of a study pertaining to one region, the author could have brought out more of the irrational aspects underlying the rapid shifts in political orientation. In this connection the role of the west coast with its well-to-do and independent-minded peasantry is of special importance, as this area became the center of farm revolt in 1928–1929 and subsequently the starting point of Nazi influence over the Schleswig-Holstein countryside. Similarly, the author may want to supplement this study through an analysis of the phenomenal rise of the Danish vote in the Schleswig area after World War II and test this development for possible new in-

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sights into earlier attitudes. Still, the work provides a detailed and reliable account and makes an important contribution to the study of the Weimar period.

Library of Congress ARNOLD H. PRICE

ZWISCHEN DEMOKRATIE UND DIKTATUR: VERFASSUNGSPOLITIK UND REICHSREFORM IN DER WEIMARER REPUBLIK. Volume I, DIE PERIODE DER KONSOLIDIERUNG UND DER REVISION DES BISMARCKSCHEN REICHSAUFBAUS 1919–1930. By *Gerhard Schulz.* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1963. Pp. xiv, 678. DM 56.)

IN this learned and detailed work dealing with the history of the relationship between *Reich* and *Länder* in the Weimar Republic the first volume leads from the Revolution of November 1918 to the year 1930. A subsequent volume will treat the development "from the restorative to the totalitarian dictatorship." This book offers first an analytical history of the origins of the Weimar Constitution and describes thereafter the tensions and conflicts that stemmed from the problematic federal system that the constitution had created and that soon led to demands for a *Reichsreform.* In addition to an enormous array of printed sources, many of them never before tapped, Professor Schulz has used a large body of unpublished documentary material. He is the first author who has systematically gone through the relevant files of the *Reich* chancellery, now kept in the Koblenz *Bundesarchiv.* But the official records are often augmented by such private documents as the papers of Dr. Erich Koch-Weser, who played a notable part in the reform movement. Considering the wealth of its sources alone, the book will remain indispensable for any future research on the Weimar Republic.

But the strength of the work lies in the method. The constitution is seen not only as a system of legal ideas and norms, but as a reflection of political decisions and social clashes, which determine not only its formation but also modify its character thereafter. The author has attempted very successfully to describe the changing structural forms of German society. One of his important achievements is the clarification of the great influence of the federal and land bureaucracies that emerged already in the Revolution and grew thereafter. They defeated Hugo Preuss's plan for territorial reorganization and the extension of self-government, as they appeared later as the real force behind the fight for states' rights. Together they gave the *Reichsrat,* the organ representing the lands in the federal government, a greater position than the constitution had envisaged. Schulz rightly considers Bavaria and Prussia pivotal in the development of Reichsland relations. The struggle of Bavaria for its special rights is well described. More original, however, is the treatment of Prussia. Schulz shows the effective defense of the Prussian government against all movements for autonomy in its provinces. New information is contained particularly in the sections on East Prussia, while Hanover is somewhat neglected. The state that integrated two-thirds of Germany was still the biggest power within the country in spite of the loss of its former privileges. Prussia was the greatest stabilizing force in the Weimar Republic, but at the same time a hindrance to an independent policy of the *Reich.* The tensions between the Prussian and the national government, which are judiciously narrated by Schulz, ex-

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isted even when the two governments were of the same political complexion. I remember that Chancellor Hermann Müller said to me in September 1928: "I have to spend one-half of the day on negotiations with the other side of the Wilhelmstrasse [where the office of the Russian Prime Minister was located]."

Schulz has no particular gift for portraying individuals, and his prose style does not make for easy reading, but he has made a valuable scholarly contribution to the institutional and social history of the ill-fated Weimar Republic.

Yale University HAJO HOLBORN

DREAM OF EMPIRE: GERMAN COLONIALISM, 1919–1945. By *Wolfe W. Schmokel.* [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 78.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 204. $6.00.)

GERMANY experienced the excitement of colonial imperialism for only a generation. Just as its empire began to give promise of economic value, and several decades before the dissolution of Western imperialism occurred, it lost its possessions to the victors of World War I. Although colonial revisionism was not the most important aspect of German resentment against the Versailles settlement, it was a consistent factor in agitation. Schmokel's competent study outlines the well-organized movement for return of the colonies, which began among German nationalists and conservatives and was subsequently absorbed by National Socialist policies. The basic characteristics of Nazi propaganda and foreign policy manipulation are generally well known. This book illustrates these techniques as they were applied to agitation for colonial restoration. The author has used an abundance of German sources; some of these demonstrate the overorganization of Nazi planning for postwar colonial revival, replete with characteristic internal bureaucratic empire building and infighting. Some startling parallels appear between projected Nazi colonial policy and contemporary apartheid principles in South Africa. Useful also is Schmokel's review of the colonial issue in Nazi diplomacy and Anglo-French appeasement responses.

The book covers the period from 1919 to 1945 by broad topical examination of the German colonial movement, the colonial argument, the diplomacy of colonial revisionism, and colonial planning. While this organization is quite satisfactory for the Nazi period, it blurs the characteristics of colonial revisionist agitation during the Weimar era, when the movement stood on a non-Nazi, conservative-national platform. As a result, one loses sight of a very important facet of recent German history: how a *bona fide* conservative-national issue was cajoled, twisted, or compromised into a fascist-racist policy. This phenomenon also transcends German history and deserves more careful attention.

University of California, Irvine HENRY CORD MEYER

NATIONALSOZIALISMUS UND REVOLUTION: URSPRUNG UND GESCHICHTE DER NSDAP IN HAMBURG, 1922–1933. DOKUMENTE. By *Werner Jochmann.* [Veröffentlichungen der Forschungsstelle für die Ge-

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schichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Number 3.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Europäische Verlagsanstalt. 1963. Pp. xi, 5–444.)

So definitely forming an epoch, rather than a mere episode, National Socialism offers to historiography a broad enough field of investigation to invite all the treatments available, including the history of ideas, no less than local history. It is this treatment that Hamburg, as one of present-day Germany's *Länder,* has preferred to apply to the subject. Preceding rather than accompanying a promised history of the local origins and rise of the NSDAP, the *Forschungsstelle* dedicated to this purpose publishes a documentary of some 125 pieces. The volume includes all manner of papers, official ones such as communications from the Senate to the *Reich* government protesting against the favors shown by the *Reichswehr* to nationalist organizations; broadsides of the Nazis and their allies and opponents; newspaper articles; intraparty correspondence, revealing party working methods and other *interna,* including the numerous schisms and conflicts, the relative immunity, to a late date, of the Hamburg population against Nazi infection, strong despite the conviction on the part of the local organizers—who incidentally were mostly new arrivals—that they in the north provided the movement with "a racially outstanding human material," not always appreciated rightly at the Munich party center.

Relations with the Brown House were often difficult, decisions from it hard to obtain, because Hitler was not given to the writing of letters, convinced that "it is better not to answer letters since they answer themselves in due time." The weightiness varies greatly from document to document, but each is illustrative of some phase of the rise (and temporary setbacks) of Nazism. Quite outstanding among them is the diary of a woman teacher, demonstrating the helplessness of a nationalist petty *Hambourgeoise* who experienced the cobralike fascination emanating from the *Führer:* he was to her and many others "the only man who today —1932—still can be something to 15 million people and can give them something, no matter what," to whom "many look up in deeply moving faith as the helper, savior, rescuer from overwhelming distress." Almost her one remaining doubt was that there were also other enthusiastic followers of this *Heiland,* "malicious people in debt." Only one kind of evidence, it seems to me, after having lived through the ten years to 1932 in Hamburg, is sadly missing: the documentation that "oral history" can provide, the sources of which become more rare with every day.

Sherman, Connecticut ALFRED VAGTS

USTRÓJ POLITYCZNY NIEMIECKIEJ REPUBLIKI DEMOKRATYCZNEJ [Political Structure of the German Democratic Republic]. By *Lech Janicki.* [Studium Niemcoznawcze Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 8.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1964. Pp. 360. Zł. 60.)

THIS volume is the eighth in a series of publications on Germany by the "Western Institute" in Poznań. The other works, published in 1947–1948 and then since 1962, have covered such varied subjects as Polish-German relations between the world wars and the school system of the German Federal Republic.

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Janicki's study of the political structure of the DDR is highly formalistic, recounting decisions of party and government, but never going beyond routine Communist comments on governments in the people's democracies. There are no discussion of personalities, no analysis of Ulbricht's personal position in German politics, and certainly no serious consideration of the role of the Soviet Union in establishing and supporting this state. The study makes some interesting comparisons of the East German constitution with those of the other people's democracies, but to Western ears, the whole structure of the work sounds hollow.

University of Wisconsin ALFRED ERICH SENN

DEUTSCHE UNIVERSITÄTEN UND HOCHSCHULEN IM OSTEN. By *Walther Hubatsch et al.* [Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Number 30.] (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag. 1964. Pp. 126. Cloth DM 17, paper DM 14.)

THESE five essays on as many German universities and other institutions of higher learning in the East before their dissolution or transformation behind the iron curtain were originally delivered as lectures at Bonn during the winter semester of 1962–1963 under the auspices of the university's Senate Commission for the Study of German Nationality in the East. Their purpose, as stated in the foreword by Hermann Conrad, the chairman of the commission, was to remind larger academic circles, as well as others, of the noteworthy achievements of the German centers of higher education in Eastern Europe. Of these many centers, the five most important ones were selected for extended treatment by scholars who had been intimately associated with them either as professors or students and are presently affiliated with universities in the Federal Republic. Thus Königsberg is dicussed by Walther Hubatsch of Bonn; Dorpat by Reinhard Wittram of Göttingen; Breslau by Ludwig Petry of Mainz; the Catholic Academy of Braunsberg by Bernhard Stasiewski of Bonn; and the *Technische Hochschule* of Danzig by Erich Keyser of Marburg.

In surveying the history of these five institutions, the authors summarize their significance as follows: they participated intimately and actively in the intellectual life of Europe; while developing their own individual characteristics, they were united in their quest for knowledge and its dissemination; they produced many scholars of world-wide fame, of whom Immanuel Kant of Königsberg was the most shining example; they were outposts of German culture and nationalism; and, finally, they served as a bridge between the Germanic and Slavic worlds by often admitting students from Slavic areas and, as in the case of Breslau, by encouraging the study of Slavic languages and literature. Indeed, they exerted considerable influence on the intellectual life of the neighboring countries. Their role during the Third *Reich* receives rather short treatment, although the authors cite several examples of professorial resistance to the Nazis. With many of their former students and professors presently residing in the Federal Republic, following their expulsion from their homeland, Hubatsch suggests that they manifest their gratitude and loyalty to their alma mater—Königsberg, in his

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case—by transmitting its cultural heritage to others and, more specifically, by stimulating scholarly interest in the tasks to which it had dedicated itself. Helpful bibliographies and extended notes accompany each essay.

University of Maryland RICHARD H. BAUER

PRINCE EUGEN OF SAVOY. By *Nicholas Henderson.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. xi, 324. $6.95.)

HENDERSON's purpose in doing a biography of Eugene is to fill the gap in English-language historical literature about his subject. There can be little doubt that this undertaking is justified. The author, a British diplomat, has succeeded, at least to some extent, in accomplishing his task. His literary skills are of a high professional quality. The book is very clearly organized and neatly balanced, and it reads eminently well. It affords a clear-cut picture of Eugene as a brilliant, wholly dedicated, and loyal vocational soldier with more than dilettantish cultural side interests.

If the writer is unable to sketch a particularly profound picture of the Prince's character, surely the reason lies in Eugene's generally taciturn demeanor and in the apparent nonexistence of documentation of a more intimate, personal nature. On the other hand, it is clear that the book will be of value primarily to the student or the general reader who does not know German. It does not make any major contribution to specialized scholarship, which must remain the province of the formidable Max Braubach. It relies very heavily upon a limited number of older secondary studies, especially the pioneering Arneth, the official Austrian *Feldzüge,* Coxe, and somewhat more recently, Churchill. There are also some errors, a few of which are rather serious. The second chapter especially, "The Turkish Challenge," is filled with inaccuracies and misspellings, too numerous to record. One example, in connection with the siege of Vienna in 1683, is the repetition of the old coffeehouse legend. This portion of the study should certainly have been submitted to a trained Osmanist for critical review. There are also occasional debatable assertions elsewhere. It is questionable whether Leopold I, whose portrait is not presented as objectively as it might be, suffered from a speech impediment; Rink maintains that he was a fairly eloquent public speaker. The judgment of the role of the aristocracy in politics may be unnecessarily colored by *fin de siècle* comparisons. It is probably not true, with regard to the Battle of Zenta, that the Turkish Army lacked flintlocks to such a degree. The evidence adduced for revising and enhancing Eugene's part, as opposed to Marlborough's, in the Battle of Blenheim, does not seem particularly convincing to me. Here it will be necessary to wait for Braubach's second volume, as is true for the question of Eugene's alleged homosexuality. Finally, there appears to be no good reason for using such a quixotic spelling of the Prince's name. The English edition, incidentally, is printed on better quality paper.

State University of New York, Albany THOMAS M. BARKER

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DIE WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK MARIA THERESIAS. By *Gustav Otruba.* [Österreich-Reihe, Number 192/194.] (Vienna: Bergland Verlag. 1963. Pp. 220. Sch. 30.)

GUSTAV Otruba, the author of *Prinz Eugen und Marlborough* and of numerous articles on Austrian economic history, has published a volume on the economic policies of Maria Theresa in the "Österreich-Reihe." Like other books in the same series, this is a summary rather than a monograph. It is also more concerned with Austrian economic institutions between 1740 and 1780 than it is with Maria Theresa's policies. The latter are discussed primarily in connection with a group of manuscripts in the *Hofkammerarchiv* that contain her decisions on various industrial, commercial, and agrarian problems, 1764–1776. The documents show that she was mercantilist, interested in even the minutest details, and, unless her prejudices were aroused, benevolent.

The book provides an extensive survey of mines, ironworks, brass foundries, textile mills, and other industrial establishments in eighteenth-century Austria. It details the inventions, which were few, though they included that marvelous robot, the "Chess-playing Turk." It gives interesting glimpses of the network of promises and privileges with which foreign merchants and artisans were induced to lend their talents to the Austrian state. Native participation in industrial enterprise was largely confined to the great landowners, the Waldsteins, Harrachs, and Kinskys, or, in some cases, though both Maria Theresa and her coregent Joseph II disliked it, to the state. Otruba illuminates many corners of economic life, but one misses a sense of the interrelated web of Theresan policy. Some of its aspects, such as the amortization of the national debt, the nature of taxation, and the sources of tax revenue, are treated more briefly than they deserve. On the topic of landowner-peasant relations, we are left with the tantalizing statement, which certainly needs amplification, that Maria Theresa's desire for complete peasant emancipation in Bohemia was thwarted by Joseph II and Kaunitz. The most successful section of the book deals with certain aspects of international trade, the building up of Trieste, the founding of the Austrian East India Company, the popularity of the *Maria-Theresien-Taler,* and the fear of Barbary pirates.

This is a descriptive, not an analytical study. It has little contact with modern economic thought, but it draws a vivid picture of life and labor in eighteenth-century Austria.

Hunter College EDITH M. LINK

LEOPOLD II.: ERZHERZOG VON ÖSTERREICH, GROSSHERZOG VON TOSKANA, KÖNIG VON UNGARN UND BÖHMEN, RÖMISCHER KAISER. Volume I, 1747–1780; Volume II, 1780–1792. By *Adam Wandruszka.* (Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1965. Pp. 450; 457. Sch. 224; Sch. 290.)

RECENT historiography, especially the works by Szilagi and Wangermann, has paid well-merited attention to the reign of Leopold II. Yet, like the older work by Robert J. Kerner on his administration in Bohemia, these excellent monographs perceive the second of Maria Theresa's imperial sons primarily within the con-

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text of Josephinism. They see Leopold as coadjutor of and heir to his more famous brother's philosophy and course of government.

Professor Wandruszka's work, the first scholarly biography of the Emperor, treats Leopold II entirely in his own right. It is a most remarkable work about a most remarkable man. The view that Leopold was a ruler endowed equally with enlightened motivation, political skill, and, above all, common sense, and in these last aspects far superior to Joseph, is of course not new. In the two years between 1790 and 1792 he managed to extricate Austria from the revolutionary crisis ignited by Joseph's reforms, and he did much to prevent Austria's involvement in the holocaust of the revolutionary wars, brought about only a few weeks after his untimely death. Wandruszka sustains these established views. Yet he offers also much new knowledge and interpretation supported by a vast number of heretofore untapped documents in the archives of Florence, Prague, and Vienna. Many of the secret Italian personal papers and memorandums recorded by Leopold in his secret Italian shorthand were deciphered by Wandruszka with impressive ingenuity.

In the twenty-five years of his rule as Grand Duke of Tuscany prior to the imperial accession, Leopold offered in planning and action an outstanding example of enlightened government. This pertains equally to amazingly modern constitutional, judicial, ecclesiastical, and educational reforms, to an economic policy following physiocratic principles, and to an effective course of neutrality in international relations. As adviser to Maria Theresa in the last years of her life, Leopold also played a significant role in Austrian financial and administrative matters. The same is not true for his position during the reign of Joseph. At least equal to him in intelligence, he proved vastly superior in actual knowledge of governmental affairs, systematic ability to tackle problems, and practical humanitarianism devoid of the impatient harshness of Joseph's endeavors. Leopold, deeply suspicious, extremely critical, and less than frank by nature, found cooperation with the even more complex personality of his older brother most difficult. The fascinating secret document in which the Grand Duke of Tuscany characterizes the imperial family and above all his brother in the most unfavorable light reveals a hidden conflict of emotional ambivalence that has never come fully into the open. It helps to explain though why the most capable ruler of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine could not live up to his full potentialities prior to his accession, which preceded his death by only two years.

In the last quarter of Wandruszka's work, where the author moves from practically virginal to the more familiar ground of Leopold's reign as Emperor, his presentation becomes somewhat more conventional. Concerning Leopold's upbringing, administration in Tuscany, and planning there and in Austria, the work is unsurpassed, particularly in the wealth of brilliantly analyzed original source material. The historiography of so-called enlightened absolutism—at least in this particular case a misnomer—will have to be revised in more than one way after the publication of this monumental work of the highest scholarly rank.

Rutgers University Robert A. Kann

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DIE SPRACHENFRAGE IM ÖSTERREICHISCHEN UNTERRICHTSWESEN, 1848–1859. By *Klaus Frommelt.* [Studien zur Geschichte der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie, Number 1.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1963. Pp. 218. DM 18.60.)

PUBLISHED with the imprimatur of the *Kommission für die Geschichte der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie* which is directed by Professor Hugo Hantsch of the University of Vienna, this detailed monograph is a solid and reliable piece of scholarship. Following a short appraisal of the decade of the 1850's, as interpreted by historians, the various elements that operated in the area of Austrian learning are succinctly discussed. The point is properly emphasized that because the state was a "ständisch-monarchische Länderunion," peculiar difficulties faced the administrators of formal education. At all levels of learning, militant spokesmen of the diverse nationalities wished to have their mother tongues used as extensively as possible.

The best sections of the work reconstruct the character and the objectives of the Austrian Ministry of Education, which came into existence during the revolutionary tumult of 1848, and the language issue in the seven universities of the realm. The principal leader in the ministry, Count Leo Thun, a Bohemian Slavophile of German stock, is portrayed more generously than the evidence would seem to warrant. On the other side, more attention should have been devoted to the reasoning and the innovations of his expert counselors, Franz Exner and Hermann Bonitz in secondary schooling and Anton Krombholz at the primary level. For two reasons it was impractical to satisfy the desires of the nationalities to have university exercises carried on in their languages: the scientific and scholarly literature of the smaller nationalities was too thin in quantity and the cost too high for lectures in the various tongues of the student personnel at institutions of higher learning. And so German generally served as the lingua franca, with Latin the language of theological faculties.

Documentary materials occupy almost as much space in the book as the historical analysis and exposition.

University of Rochester ARTHUR J. MAY

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF PIERRE VIRET. By *Robert Dean Linder.* [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume LXIV.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1964. Pp. 217.)

THE author of this useful work has recognized that we should know more about the supposedly minor leaders of the Protestant Reformation, who might prove more instructive and important than has generally been supposed. Pierre Viret was a good choice for an investigation of this kind. He played an active role in Geneva before Calvin's arrival and knew him well, was a major figure in the conversion of Lausanne, and spent his later years organizing the Huguenot movement in France. He is also notable for having preached and written widely at a more popular level than most other Reformed leaders. The present book is a report of what Viret had to say or how he otherwise dealt with various political issues. Professor Linder provides a careful and probably exhaustive account of Viret's

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position on the nature of authority, ecclesiastical and civil government, the relations of church and state, resistance to political authority, and religious toleration.

Much of this report is of considerable interest. Reformed Protestantism on the Continent was hardly more monolithic than Catholicism during the sixteenth century, and its beliefs are by no means identifiable at every point with Calvinism; on the long continuum between church and sect, Viret must be located considerably to the left of Genevan orthodoxy. He appears to have delineated more clearly than Calvin between church and state (if in fact that modern distinction is applicable here), he believed strongly in the autonomy of the individual congregation and took a rather sectarian view of its membership, and he opposed the persecution of heresy. But, far earlier than other Reformed leaders, he also insisted on the subordination of rulers to law and came close to justifying the right of resistance to impious or tyrannical rulers. It may be, as Linder argues, that these views influenced later "Calvinists," whose beliefs were often so different from Calvin's, although I am not fully convinced of the contention that Viret also tended to political democracy. Unfortunately too much of this work consists of a mechanical exposition of Viret's thought in which little distinction is made among political commonplaces of the age, the general positions of Reformed theology, and what was genuinely unique to the man himself. Like most doctoral dissertations, Linder's book would have been improved by a richer sense of historical context.

University of California, Berkeley WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

RECHERCHES SUR LE COMMERCE DE GENÈVE AU XVII[e] SIÈCLE: AFFAIRES ET POLITIQUE. By *Anne-Marie Piuz*. [Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, Volume XLII.] (Geneva: Alex. Jullien, Libraire. 1964. Pp. 456. 28 fr. S.)

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY Genevan economic development is presented with clarity by the author. The bibliography is excellent, and the tables and graphs adequately support the analysis. The indexes of subject matter, persons, and geographical names enhance the usefulness of the volume.

Although the study appears on the surface to be local in character, Geneva was a focal point of trade and entrepôt industry. The author acknowledges that the sources of information available to establish the short-run business cycle are often incomplete, but the indicators selected are skillfully chosen and projected to produce a reasonably accurate secular trend, often at variance with neighboring states. To achieve these results, the work is divided into three parts: the provisioning of the city; interregional trade and trade routes; and wage rates, price structure, employment, industrial activity, interest rates, and to some extent capital movements.

Geneva is characterized as a city with a rural area not entirely under its direct jurisdiction and insufficient in size to provide an adequate food supply. It must, consequently, rely upon its industrial and commercial activity to fill the gap. Geneva's existence depended upon freedom of trade with its neighbors, particularly the right to transport merchandise through their territories without payment of excessive tolls or duties.

A considerable portion of the study is devoted to controversies with neighbor-

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ing states arising from excessive charges that hindered or completely closed one or another route. Fortunately, alternative routes were usually available. A detailed description of each route is supplemented by a map which also indicates volume of traffic to some extent.

Since the provisioning of Geneva was vital to its existence, the supply as well as the prices of necessities was closely regulated by the authorities. Combine these records with wage rates of rural and city labor, the extent of unemployment, violations of price and wage regulations, and the pattern of the business cycle emerges with accuracy. The case is further strengthened by the shift in commercial activity from Italy and the Mediterranean area to centers in the north. The city's neutrality during this turbulent era produced rich rewards for the merchant class.

From this analysis the author concludes that the usual secular trend indicating a prosperous Europe during the first half of the century followed by a decline in the second half is unacceptable for Geneva. To the contrary, Geneva's secular pattern is shown to be one of prolonged economic depression during the earlier years of the century. The period 1653–1690, then, blossoms forth with expanding prosperity, culminating in a severe industrial and commercial collapse that continued for the following thirty years.

University of Alabama FRANK E. DYKEMA

AGRICOLTURA, INDUSTRIA E COMMERCIO IN PIEMONTE NEL SECOLO XVIII. By *Luigi Bulferetti.* [Pubblicazioni del Comitato torinese dell'Istituto per la storia del Risorgimento. New Series, Number 1.] (Turin: the Comitato. 1963. Pp. 449.)

LUIGI Bulferetti, who is well known as an authority on the economic history of northern Italy before the *Risorgimento,* would be the last to pretend that this large volume is really a work of history. He does, it is true, put forth some interesting historical theses: that Piedmont, for instance, being an almost wholly agricultural country, suffered far less than Lombardy from the severe depression of the 1630's, that, in the absence of an entrepreneurial middle class, its economy remained completely in the hands of the prince and the landed nobility, and that the foundations of its later industrialization were laid in the slow, almost imperceptible changes that took place during the eighteenth century. But these theses are somewhat difficult to extract from the rather involved style the author has chosen for the first chapters, with pagelong sentences broken up by parentheses and marginal exclamations.

The author's interest lies almost wholly in the extensive statistical tables that fill over half of the book, and he himself admits that he is seeking above all to make a "mass of data" available for future historians of Piedmont. Most of the text, indeed, does little more than put the tables into sentences (as, "In the province of Pinerole there existed 113 mills with 130 mill wheels that yielded each year. . . ."). The mere quantity of detailed information, and the immense industry that has apparently gone into its compilation, is amazing. Readers may be a bit perplexed by the additions penned onto the loose leaf of errata tucked into the back, and they may be dismayed by the printer's penchant for turning some of

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the tables upside down. But if they want to find out exactly how many lengths of *taffettà ribordato* were manufactured in Turin in 1783 or how many people received Communion in Susa in 1697, they will find the answers here, all meticulously transferred into the metric system and into modern currency.

University of Chicago ERIC COCHRANE

OPERE. In two volumes. By *Lodovico Antonio Muratori*. Edited by *Giorgio Falco* and *Fiorenzo Forti*. [La letteratura italiana, storia e testi, Volume XLIV, Part 1. Dal Muratori al Cesarotti, Volume I.] (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi Editore. [1964.] Pp. xlv, 1013; 1018–2129. L. 18,000 the set.)

MUCH of the characteristic charm of eighteenth-century literature arises from the effortless assurance that a talented mind, even when it devotes itself to the simple and commonplace, cannot fail to be impressive. Lodovico Muratori is another writer in whom this confidence vindicates itself.

Even among the versatile and voluminous writers of the eighteenth century Muratori is a prodigy. He is priest; moral and political philosopher; literary consultant, librarian, and pamphleteer for the Prince of Modena; classicist, historian, and historical researcher. These two volumes present only selections from Muratori's enormous literary output, and one should perhaps not attempt definitive formulations, but merely sketch certain attitudes of Muratori's thought.

On Public Happiness is a set of recommendations by a liberal arts scholar on the technological renovation of eighteenth-century Italy. What can the liberal arts accomplish in the absence of specialized technical competence? There is, especially by eighteenth-century standards, remarkably good practical judgment in the location and statement of basic problems. A point is repeatedly reached, however, at which specific recommendations must be made about industry, agriculture, public health, coinage, and so forth, and one has the uncomfortable sense that no productive result can be achieved because of the lack of technical competence according to which solutions could be assessed. On the other hand, the humanist has his own kind of shrewdness and realizes that the problems of technology may be less intricate than those arising from indolence, violence, human defectibility in general.

On the problems of emerging nations, Muratori has a surprisingly modern sense that economic power must precede military or any other kind. His aggressive mercantilism is full of the sense of "socialist planning" and of state initiative as the basis of progress. Interesting also are the impression that economic growth can be generated by an act of the will and the repeated preoccupation with the example of Russia.

An emerging nation wants to achieve a sense of national identity, and Muratori is one of the architects of Italian historical scholarship. He collected and published the source materials from which the history of Italy's Middle Ages could be derived (the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*) and made his own statement of Italian history in *Annals of Italy* and other works. It is always interesting to confront a man who is making a first statement of history from the sources and to realize how quickly the sources are turned into guidelines for an interpretation that de-

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velops around them. Muratori's interpretations are concerned with such themes as the virtue of princes, handling mercenary troops, sumptuary legislation.

D'Youville College ROBERT M. KUNZ

LA SICILIA NEL 1812. By *Francesco Renda.* [Mediterranea, Number 4.] ([Caltanissetta:] Salvatore Sciascia Editore. 1963. Pp. 562. L. 4,500.)

RENDA has undertaken here a study of the intricacies of internal and external politics involving Sicily during the latter years of Napoleon Bonaparte's domination of Europe. The numerous persons involved in the story remind one of chessmen moved about by forces that do not always emerge clearly in the reader's mind. The author has done rather well, nonetheless, in sorting out the various interests, foreign and domestic, at work on the island and more remotely on the peninsula. Several themes are developed: for example, the influence of British presence on the island's political and economic life and the account of jealous insular nobility guarding against loss of prerogatives either to the monarchy, to the bourgeoisie, or to the popular forces. A part of the story also is the largely vain striving of the enlightened ones following intellectual tendencies from eighteenth-century France. And then there were the republicans who could not seem to be on the right side at the right moment. These were years when republicans were hanged or guillotined in Mantua and Naples. The perennial question of Sicilian independence is the main thread around which the others are woven.

At Napoleon's decline and fall independence appeared to be a good possibility. Part of the reason for the failure of the effort lay in the decisions at Vienna. But, in Renda's view, there was more to it than that. The constitution of 1812 and the governmental experiment it represented "demonstrated that there did not exist in Sicily a ruling political class capable of assuring a stable and lasting political form of government either in the liberal or reactionary sense." Still, there was a legacy from 1812, and there had been some permanent reforms: the abolition of serfdom and the improvement of local administration, for example. The experience of 1812 and after also enhanced the hostility of all classes toward foreign rule, which in turn thrust Sicily into a prominent role in the *Risorgimento* and ultimately in the cause of national unity and independence for all Italy.

The author utilized materials from the Russian archives and the state archives in Palermo and Naples. Drawing also on memoirs, biographies, parliamentary acts, and pertinent secondary studies, he has produced a rather detailed study of a small but significant part of the history of modern Italy.

Wisconsin State University, La Crosse GEORGE R. GILKEY

STORIA DELLA SICILIA DAL 1860 AL 1910. By *Francesco De Stefano* and *Francesco Luigi Oddo.* [Biblioteca di cultura moderna, Number 584.] (Bari: Editori Laterza. 1963. Pp. xi, 461. L. 3,200.)

IN recent years much has been done to free the history of Sicily since Italian unification from the myth and fancy in which it was shrouded by those like Giustino Fortunato and Francesco Nitti who wanted to make a political issue of the

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southern question and by those foreign liberals who were shocked by conditions that they observed. Rosario Romeo's *Il Risorgimento in Sicilia* (1950), S. F. Romano's *Storia dei Fasci Siciliani* (1959), and Paolo Alatri's *Lotte politiche in Sicilia* (1954) bear ample testimony to this fact. Fortunately, the present work contributes mightily to this process of enlightenment.

The pages devoted here to the effects of unification on Sicily are for the most part judicious and balanced. I should have liked, however, to have seen some consideration of the Gramsci thesis concerning the lack of land reform in the early years and the continuing influence of the agrarian problem in Italian history. I should have been inclined to place less blame upon the new Italian state than do these authors for many of the ills of the Italian economy after unification. Furthermore, I should have been disposed to devote more attention than they do to the population problem and to emigration. On the other hand, the sections treating social tensions and organizations of the discontented in the 1890's are enlightening and summarize a great amount of monographic research.

Indeed, this work is so promising that one can only hope that the authors will be encouraged enough by its reception to bring their story down to a more recent date.

Columbia University SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

INTERPRETAZIONI DEL RISORGIMENTO: LEZIONI DI STORIA DELLA STORIOGRAFIA. By *Walter Maturi*. Preface by *Ernesto Sestan*. Revised bibliography by *Rosario Romeo*. [Biblioteca di cultura storica, Number 72.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1962. Pp. xxiv, 808.)

FOR all serious scholars in the field of the Italian national revival this work is a "must." The late Professor Maturi (1902–1961) as a young man wrote the splendid article on the *Risorgimento* for the *Enciclopedia Italiana*. His continued study of that topic as a mature scholar enabled him to leave for posterity this excellent book, which is divided into six sections. Each represents a series of lectures, the first two delivered at the University of Pisa in 1945 and 1947, and the last four, 1956 through 1960, at the University of Turin. Maturi himself chose the title for the work that he had planned. After his untimely death a group of his students prepared the material for publication, presenting it completely, we are assured, except for a couple of cases where the master had repeated himself from year to year. They checked the citations and prepared the index of names. Professor Romeo, closely associated with Maturi, prepared the bibliographies which, together with the material in the text, form a splendid list on the whole panorama of the unification of Italy.

In the preface Ernesto Sestan advances the claim that here we have what has so long been lacking, "a truly modern history of the Risorgimento." A history in the strict sense it is not. It is a series of well-drawn and succinct essays on the principal writers and their writings on the *Risorgimento*. Of the forty-six chapters only a few are devoted to schools or topics. The usual chapter is focused on an individual writer and begins with a nicely selective biographical sketch. Some sixty authors are listed in the table of contents from Carlo Denina (1731–1813) to Denis

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Mack Smith. I was pleased to be included (Chapter xxxvii). All those who actually knew the late Professor Gaetano Salvemini will read with delight Chapter xxvii with its account of the discovery of the boy's talents by his uncle, a priest, whose dream was to see him become a bishop! Maturi also offers an interesting comparison of Omodeo and Salvatorelli, each of whom began his historical work in the study of early Christianity. Spellanzon, we learn, moved into the *Risorgimento* from the field of journalism.

At several points Maturi felt tempted, in discussing an author's writings, to go beyond the boundaries of the *Risorgimento,* and it is in such peripheral excursions that his few lapses occur. Americans will probably respond to Maturi's suggestion, put forward in his discussion of the writings of Carlo Tivaroni that "Garibaldi was a bit of a Pancho Villa." (The movie made a hit in Italy, too.) We may assume that what Maturi offers is an accurate summary of Francesco Ruffini's treatise on religious liberty, but is it not strained to find an Italian origin for the thought of "Ruggiero Williams who founded the colony of Virginia in North America and transplanted there the idea of religious liberty"?

Department of State Howard M. Smyth

AMMINISTRAZIONE CENTRALE E AMMINISTRAZIONE PERIFERICA: DA RATTAZZI A RICASOLI (1859–1866). By *Claudio Pavone.* [L'organizzazione dello stato. Collana di studi e testi nel centenario dell'unità, Number 2.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1964. Pp. xi, 821. L. 7,000.)

With the publication of Pavone's definitive work on Italian administrative history from 1859 to 1866, eight volumes of a projected eleven-volume series devoted to the organization of the Italian state have appeared. Like other volumes in this indispensable series, Pavone's book contains an introductory essay, a selection of source material, a chronological appendix, and a critical bibliography. Over five hundred pages of source material, which include not only the decrees and laws essential to any investigation of how in fact the state was centralized but also a comprehensive selection from the debate on how in theory Italy should have been administered, make this an invaluable reference book for specialists in administrative history. But anyone interested in the *Risorgimento* should read Pavone's two-hundred-page introduction for its contribution to the true nature of Italian unification.

Pavone poses a fundamental question in the introduction: why did those moderate liberals, who in theory believed decentralization was synonymous with liberty, in practice force illiberal centralization on the nascent Italian state? Since the system of administration imposed on Italy after 1859 was in essence the system devised for the kingdom of Sardinia, Pavone first traces the evolution of centralization in Piedmont prior to 1859. In Piedmont centralization allowed the government to control the periphery from the center, and control of the machinery of administration permitted the moderate liberals to consolidate their political power. After 1859 the same machinery allowed a somewhat enlarged ruling class to do much the same thing: to unify from the center a nation profoundly divisive at the periphery and to check the potential democratization of both the state and society.

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The moderate liberals were well aware that they had to have power in order to safeguard their liberty, but since they had no genuine desire to extend this liberty beyond the "citadel of moderate oligarchy," their ideological commitment to decentralization resulted in no effective decentralization of power. Apprehensive about the durability of an Italy they had united from above and consequently reluctant to experiment with any form of local autonomy, democratic or otherwise, convinced that they alone could give a new nation good government, the moderate liberals embraced a system of centralized administration, not only illiberal in itself but contaminating and discrediting a liberal Parliament. Pavone does a brilliant job of setting this corrosion of the principle of decentralization in its historical context.

Cambridgeshire College of Arts and Technology ROBERT GAW MURRAY

LA DESTRA STORICA DOPO L'UNITÀ: L'IDEA LIBERALE E LA CHIESA CATTOLICA. By *Aldo Berselli*. [Saggi, Number 41.] ([Bologna:] Il Mulino. 1963. Pp. xii, 405. L. 3,500.)

THIS is another monograph on that engrossing subject of the relationship of Church and state in modern Italy. Four chapters, each divided into numbered sections, make up the book: "The Lanza-Sella Ministry"; "The Parliamentary Elections of November 1870"; "The Law of the Guarantees"; and "The Law on the Religious Corporations of Rome." The author sets as his aim the delineation of the work of the Italian ruling class when on the morrow of the occupation of Rome it faced the task of separating Church and state, of realizing religious liberty, and of suppressing the religious corporations of Rome. He quotes with approval the phrase of Ricasoli who termed the ecclesiastical legislation "the consecration of the Risorgimento."

The book is not a juristic analysis of the Law of the Guarantees from a given philosophical point of view. It does not sweep over the course of modern Italian history in the fashion of Jemolo's *Chiesa e Stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* (1949). It does not make great use of non-Italian materials or view the problem in its European setting as does Halperin's *Italy and the Vatican at War* (1939). Berselli's attention throughout is on the Italian ruling class. Thus he devotes a whole chapter in six sections to the national election of 1870 and piles up the statistical evidence of the lightness of the vote, which was a sharp disappointment to the ministry.

Berselli's distinctive contribution is his detailed delineation of the development of the Law of the Guarantees in the Italian Parliament. From the King's speech and the formulation of the ministerial program until the final passage of the act there appears to be no significant opinion expressed that is not noted, no important comment that is not documented. Article by article we follow the bill in the committee, in the general debate in the Chamber, in the discussion in the Senate, and in the press as well. Berselli makes considerable use of unpublished Italian materials, but his basic documentation is the *Atti Parlamentari*.

In view of the author's approach it is to be regretted that he did not include appendixes with the text of the ministry's bill, a tabulation of the modifications

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proposed by the committee, and the wording of the final act itself. The last chapter also would be easier to follow if one had the whole document for reference.

Department of State HOWARD M. SMYTH

TECNICA DELLA SCONFITTA: STORIA DEI QUARANTA GIORNI CHE PRECEDETTERO E SEGUIRONO L'ENTRATA DELL'ITALIA IN GUERRA. By *Franco Bandini.* ([Milan:] Sugar Editore. 1963. Pp. 914. L. 3,500.)

FRANCO Bandini is a journalist who contributes to Right-wing Italian weeklies and who wrote a few years ago a pretentious book entitled *Le ultime 95 ore di Mussolini* (1959). The ostensible purpose of Bandini's latest tract is to discuss the military and political events that occurred between May 29, 1940, when Mussolini made his decision to enter the war and July 8–9 when, according to the author, the Italian "Supermarina" bungled an opportunity to challenge the British Mediterranean fleet at Punta Stilo off southern Calabria and thereby registered the loss of Italy's initiative on the sea. The above events are set forth in the barest kind of skeletal chronicle and fill the last three hundred pages of this overlong book.

The early sections chronicle in polemical fashion various aspects of European naval history in the years after Hitler began construction of his fleet. The author claims to have received advice from numerous Italian admirals and generals and to have profited from information set forth in books by William L. Shirer, Liddell Hart, and others. All that is served up, however, is a mishmash of accusations, contradictions, and "second-guessing." The book cannot be recommended to anyone unless he wishes to take the time to indulge in idle speculation on various might-have-beens in history.

According to Bandini's reading of history, Italy's intervention in the war was desired only by the British, who wanted to broaden the field of conflict in every way possible in order to provoke the United States into coming to their aid. Mussolini fell into a "trap," but was subsequently punished for his "imperialistic exaltations" and "blind," "predatory" policies. At the same time, however, he was really a "man sent by Providence" who served as a cover for the real military and civilian responsibilities of all Italians, for he and his acolytes were not in the least different from the rest of his people. "Fascisms pass but the errors remain, for they are our very own." As obiter dicta, Bandini asserts that Italy's military disaster was not really caused by inadequate raw materials, munitions, and escort vessels. According to him, Italian industry should have been able to supply armies on the offensive for at least one year, and, if the government had had the wit to give full support to Germany during the initial months of the invasion of Soviet Russia, Italy would be able to "classify itself among those nations which still have the right to a future."

Vanderbilt University CHARLES F. DELZELL

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BOHEMIA: JAHRBUCH DES COLLEGIUM CAROLINUM. Volume IV. (Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche. 1963. Pp. 500. DM 40.)

THE fourth volume of this yearbook, again a substantial collection of articles, miscellanea, and reviews, is, as its predecessors, of value to both the specialist and the layman interested in East Central European and especially Czechoslovakian affairs and history. And, not astonishingly, these contributions become steadily more controversial as they approach our time. Thus K. Tannich's article on the great castle of Krummau is a solid contribution to the story of the architectural development of this magnificent complex of buildings. "Der Joachimsthaler Aufstand 1525 in seinen Beziehungen zu Sachsen" by S. Sieber has the special merit of showing the intimate contacts existing in that fateful year between different social movements and across political borders. An almost book-length study by R. Wierer, "Das Böhmische Staatsrecht und der Ausgleichsversuch des Ministeriums Hohenwart-Schäffle," deals with what is surely one of the more important episodes among the attempts to salvage the Habsburg Empire by reforming its structure. A most captivating contribution to Czech and Slovak history is L. v. Gogolák's "T. G. Masaryks slowakische und ungarländische Politik." The author emphasizes the significance of Masaryk's Slovak origin and even of his Slovak consciousness. Whether the lively sketch of Masaryk's character quite does him justice may be an open question, but Gogolák has certainly given us what is largely a new focus on the personality and historical role of this great figure.

Of considerable interest in a different way are the memoirs of a prominent former deputy of one of the "activist" Sudeten-German parties, Felix von Luschka, under the title "Im Parlament der ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik." This is not, of course, a detached historical treatment. The author thinks of the whole experiment of Czech-German cooperation in the period 1925–1938 as a dreadful failure, the responsibility for which he mainly puts upon the shoulders of the Czechs.

The two remaining articles are concerned with still more recent issues: "The Theory of the Continuity of the Czechoslovak State" by F. Korkisch and "The Czechoslovak Question in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials" by V. Böhmert. Strangely the two topics appear intimately interconnected, and their combined publication leaves an unpleasant taste in one's mouth.

There are good historical, political, and moral arguments against the rather wholesale procedure used in evicting the Sudeten-German minority from Czechoslovakia. The legal basis of this procedure is, in its historical evaluation, of secondary significance. The claim that not only the Munich Agreement but even the rape of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 created a legal situation binding upon all parts surely can have sinister implications. The Czechoslovak claim that, in consequence of the unilateral breach of the Munich Agreement by Hitler's acts of 1939, the *status quo* before September 1938 was, in legal terms, automatically restored is by no means as absurd as Korkisch claims. It is surely as valid as the German claim that the present partition of Germany into two *de facto* separate sovereign states cannot and must not be recognized by Germany and its friends as having any legal value. In each case the theory used is essentially that a new status arrived at by unilateral application of force against the will of the majority of the

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victimized people does not create binding international law. It is regrettable that, as before, elements of revisionist propaganda mar the value of what is otherwise a highly welcome contribution to the history of Bohemia and Czechoslovakia.

University of Alberta F. G. HEYMANN

SPOŁECZNE ASPEKTY MIGRACJI NA ZIEMIACH ZACHODNICH [Social Aspects of Migration in the Western Territories of Poland]. By *Zygmunt Dulczewski*. [Ziemie Zachodnie, Studia i Materiały, Number 7.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1964. Pp. 172. Zł. 35.)

THE question of the Western Territories (formerly the German East) is extremely important to the Poles. The literature on this subject is, therefore, quite abundant. In recent years, in contradiction to the 1950's, the emphasis has been on demographic and sociological rather than historical, political, or economic aspects. Dulczewski's book, although in some parts sketchy and too general, is a long-expected and much-needed scientific synthesis of the research done so far in the demography and sociology of the area.

The author opens his discussion with an analysis of the *Ostflucht*—the German escape from the East, which began in the 1840's and continued for a century. It finally stopped by the end of World War II when in 1946–1947 practically all the Germans were moved out of the present Polish Western Territories. The author's attention is then focused on the process of filling in the demographic vacuum created by the exodus of the German escapees (about 6,000,000) and expellees (about 2,300,000). He divides this process into two phases: the pioneer stage, up to the Potsdam Agreement of August 2, 1945, which created a legal basis for the acquisition of the German East by the Poles; and the period of mass emigration of Polish population to the West. The most important phenomena observed by Dulczewski are the general social advancement of the newcomers and the basic change in the social stratification, brought about by the mass movement of the rural population from "old Poland" to the cities in the Western Territories. According to Dulczewski one of the reasons for these phenomena was the German policy of extermination which resulted in the shortage of intelligentsia and urban population. (He fails to mention such Russian atrocities as the Katyń Forest massacre of Polish officers, which also contributed to this shortage.) For example, 55 per cent of the new Polish city of Wrocław (Breslau) consists of formerly rural population. Dulczewski's primary contribution lies in his discussion of the relations between German *Herrenvolk* and Polish slaves during the war and the Polish victors and the vanquished Germans in 1944 and 1945, and in his generalizations. He maintains, for example, that classical sociological generalizations applicable to the urban population (W. Sombart and M. Weber) are no longer valid and that the difference between the rural and urban society has been reduced to demographic (number of people) and economic (type of production) elements. The book is generally well documented although one may wonder why, for example, the text of the Potsdam Protocol was taken from a secondary source and not from the original document.

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Thus, in spite of some limitations, the book establishes Dulczewski as one of the leading Polish sociologists and demographers.

State University College, Buffalo W. M. Drzewieniecki

ΙΩΑΝΝΣ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΣ: Ο ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ—Ο ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ [John Capodistrias: The Man—The Fighter]. By *Helene E. Koukkou.* (Athens: no publisher. 1962. Pp. 77.)

Ο ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ, 1803–1822. Α', Η ΦΙΛΟΜΟΥΣΟΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΕΝΝΗΣ [Capodistrias and Education, 1803–1822. Volume I, The Vienna Society of the Friends of the Muses]. By *Helene E. Koukkou.* (Athens: no publisher. 1958. Pp. 230.)

A notable body of literature has grown up during the last few years around the controversial role of John Capodistrias in the formation of the Greek state. In this first short study Miss Helene E. Koukkou has attempted neither a full-scale biography nor a comprehensive analysis of Capodistrias' political career. Contending that Capodistrias merits greater recognition than history has given him, she traces his career briefly but authoritatively from the moment when he made his initial appearance in the service of the Septinsular Republic, 1803, to the year of his assassination, 1831. Her concise re-evaluation of one of Greece's tragic personalities adds a further dimension to the recent studies by S. D. Loukatos, Alexander Despotopoulos, D. G. Seremetis, and others. The author emphasizes Capodistrias' devotion to the Greek nation and places him among modern Greece's revered statesmen.

Her longer monograph, *The Vienna Society of the Friends of the Muses* is the first volume of a projected work entitled *Capodistrias and Education, 1803–1822.* This society which Capodistrias initiated and sponsored was established only for cultural and educational purposes. In contrast to the Greek revolutionary clubs, it was intended primarily to provide financial assistance for young Greeks studying at European universities. In 1814 the society came under the patronage of Tsar Alexander whose name headed the fashionable subscription list. The remarkable transformation of higher education in Greece owed much to the statesmanship of Capodistrias who labored toward the spiritual, moral, and intellectual regeneration of the Greek nation. He believed that an educated public was indispensable for the success of a newly created nation. Through subsidization education became available to more people who were able to lead the Greek nation toward a reawakening of the national culture. Unfortunately, the society along with the *Logios Ermes* (Sagacious Hermes), a literary and patriotic journal associated with it, fell under the suspicious eye of Metternich who feared militant nationalistic repercussions from Greek societies formed at that time.

The author has worked extensively and effectively in the General State Archives in Athens and has also consulted the archival material of the Ionian Senate and the Capodistrias Papers on Corfu, Capodistrias' native island. One wonders how much more information the author might have acquired if she had explored fully the Viennese archives. The volume includes a fifty-nine-page documentary

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addenda and an extensive bibliography on Greek and Western European sources relating to the history of this period.

University of Kentucky WILLIAM P. KALDIS

HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA. Volume I. By *Ivan Avakumovic*. ([Aberdeen:] Aberdeen University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 207. 60*s*.)

YUGOSLAV Communism has had a remarkable career. Born of hybrid (and modest) sources, it endured a precarious formative existence during the interwar years. World War II propelled it into power, and ever since it has been the object of general fascination—morbid during the Yugo-Stalinist years of 1944–1949; baffling during the internal permutations of the 1950's; wondrous in more recent years as Titoism for the West became almost synonymous with responsible, respectable, or simply "middle-course" Communism.

By now shelves have been filled with works about Titoism. Yet for all this overproduction there has not been a single full-length Western study of the pre-1941 history of Yugoslav Communism (Adam Ulam's and Charles Zalar's chapters being mainly contextual background for the wartime and postwar years). To fill this lacuna has been the purpose of Ivan Avakumovic, who plans in a subsequent volume to deal with the war years and the establishment of Tito's regime. Hopefully, the author will not rest there, but will see fit to appraise the events of 1948, 1956, and the Titoist syndrome altogether.

Following a regrettably brief discussion of southern Slav social democracy before World War I, Avakumovic analyzes in detail the founding of the Communist party of Yugoslavia, its relations with the Comintern, and the various phases of its legal and illegal existence in the 1920's and 1930's. The developments of 1939–1941 set the stage for Volume II.

This study is instructive not only for the history of the CPY but also for that of Communist parties elsewhere. Typically, the CPY indulged in initial revolutionary fervor, premature political overspending, floundering between dogmatism and flexibility, and a propensity for factional and personality conflicts. Untypically, it revealed already before 1937 a strain of unsubmissiveness to the Comintern—even to Stalin in the mid-1920's—that appears in retrospect as a harbinger of things to come. But more important, during the interwar years Yugoslav Communists, subsisting in the shadows of larger European parties, proved unequal to the formidable challenges of the agrarian and nationality "questions." Perhaps this was inevitable considering the weakness of the Yugoslav proletarian base, the superior organization of the peasantry (especially in Croatia), and the multinational mosaic whose cement and very frame were being inexorably buffeted and loosened. Clearly the lessons of that era have not been lost upon Tito; nor should they be lost upon students of Yugoslav or other variants of Communism today.

Avakumovic has produced a most useful, readable, and enlightening work. He writes with dispassion, though on occasion the task proves burdensome, and he indulges in touches of polemics. The study is copiously documented and replete with unusually valuable social statistics. As for technical detail it would be too

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self-restrained not to observe that in the absence of customary transliteration the lack of diacritical marks is rather irritating. But that is a defect usually perpetrated by economy-minded publishers.

Stanford University Ivo J. Lederer

RUSSIA. By *Robert V. Daniels*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. vii, 152. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

In a work intended as "a suitable introduction for the general reader," Professor Daniels sets out to provide "an historical summary and analysis of what Soviet Russia is, how it got that way, and how it appears to be changing." This he does effectively in five well-organized and briskly written chapters on "The Soviet Union Today," "The Russian Past," "The Revolution," "The Evolution of the Soviet System," and "Soviet Russia and the World." For so slim a volume, this is a remarkably comprehensive survey, based on a thorough familiarity with the literature of the Soviet period, but less sure on the more remote past. It packs such a quantity of data into a severely limited space that it might have proved impenetrable for the general reader if the data had not been so discriminatingly chosen and clearly presented.

Although not without some arresting insights—for example, Daniels is especially good on the relation between ideology and practice in the USSR—the treatment is on the whole rather conventional. Placing particular emphasis on the continuities between tsarist and Soviet Russia, the author views Communism as a system "that imprisons modernity within the shackles of the Russian autocratic tradition." One can hardly quarrel with this formulation, but sometimes, in dealing summarily with complex questions, Daniels' judgments seem less balanced than one might wish. He recognizes the tremendous pressure on Russia to modernize in a world where "power was trump." But, unlike Professor Von Laue, author of this phrase, he tends to lose sight of Russia's predicament when he considers the evolution of the Soviet system, conditioned in large part by this imperative.

Different scholars will take issue with one or another of the author's pronouncements. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that Daniels has written one of the very best brief introductions to the USSR.

Grinnell College Samuel H. Baron

A HISTORY OF RUSSIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT: NINTH THROUGH EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. Edited and with a foreword by *John M. Letiche*. Translated with the collaboration of *Basil Dmytryshyn* and *Richard A. Pierce*. [Publications of the Institute of Business and Economic Research, University of California.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 690. $12.50.)

In the 1950's, the Soviet Academy of Sciences sponsored the preparation (under the editorship of A. I. Pashkov) of a voluminous (three thousand pages) history

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of Russian economic thought. The present volume is a translation of the first quarter of the study. The Russian original appeared in 1955, and accordingly in approach, contents, and style it still bears undisguised the disgraceful marks of Soviet historical writings under Stalin. The authors of the individual chapters did not find it difficult to "illustrate" the general conclusions laid down for them in advance by an omniscient and infallible dictatorship and to show that Russian writers on economic problems were not significantly influenced by the West while offering major original contributions to the history of economic doctrines. The contributors' considerable ignorance of Western economic thought and their analytical helplessness no doubt greatly facilitated their task. Curiously enough, the story begins in the ninth century so that everything from legal stipulations bearing on economic life to a metaphoric reference to harvesting in a heroic epic poem becomes an integral part of Russian economic thought. With all its faults, nevertheless, the book would have deserved an English translation. Primitive as its level is and despite all distortions, it does provide in its jejune summaries much information about a number of Russian writers, some of whom, particularly in the eighteenth century when more mature economic thinking appears, are figures of considerable interest. Besides, it is useful for readers who are not familiar with the Russian language to see a typical product of totalitarian scholarship in the field of history and economics. Unfortunately, this justification is all but frustrated by the quality of the present translation. The first few chapters are less objectionable, but most of it is amateurish, inconsistent, and sometimes downright wrong. Above all, it lacks the guidance of a careful and competent editor.

In reading the present volume, I stumbled over innumerable mistranslations of all kinds. Technical economic terms have often been rendered inexactly or wrongly. Thus, to give some examples, "accounting" becomes "discount"; "circulation of bills of exchange" becomes first "credit," then "exchange," then "exchange rate," until at the very end of the book an approximation is achieved by rendering "bills of exchange" as "promissory notes"; "debased coins" are converted into their opposite by being called "undervalued money"; "price formation" becomes "price formulation," and the "single tax" of the physiocrats becomes "uniform tax"; at one point "value" is called "cost," "cost"—"losses," "local price differentials"—"price fluctuations," "profitability"—"efficiency," and "goods contracted for"—"price"; because a somewhat unusual technical term is used in the original, "selling" becomes "buying" and later "confiscation," and a "clearly pronounced export surplus" is turned into an "acutely passive trade balance"; "rate of marketing" becomes "production"; "large-scale industry" is "heavy industry" throughout; and "small-scale commodity production" is transformed into "production of small goods." There are also difficulties with specific archaic terms referring to historical institutions, which could and should have been resolved by proper editorial annotations and cross references. The glossary appended to the book is incomplete and imprecise. Many deficiencies of the translation stem simply from an inadequate knowledge of the Russian vocabulary and idioms and from a poor grasp of the morphology and the syntactic structure of the Russian sentence. Accordingly, there are numerous erroneous renditions of words and phrases, and the meaning of many sentences is occluded or altogether perverted. Again, a few selected ex-

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amples should suffice. How could the average reader know that "black lands" meant lands populated by unenserfed peasantry, when the crucial explanatory sentence is mistranslated and particularly when later on "black land regions" comes to stand for "black earth regions"? The editor offers no assistance and remains mute even when he confronts the reader with the phrase "the black city young person," a term referring to taxpaying and social status and requiring not an absurd literal translation, but an understanding circumscription and proper annotation. Since the original terms are not transliterated, let alone explained, the reader is likely to remain confused as to the important difference between *sloboda* in the sense of a tax-exempt suburb and a *posad* which comprised the taxpaying population of the towns, particularly because either term is frequently translated as "settlement." Obviously, the historically very important term *verkhovniki* (members of the *Verkhovnyi Taynyi Sovet*—the Supreme Secret Council) should have been explained rather than let the reader wonder about "the 'leaders' of 1730." The reader must be astonished to learn that Peter the Great "forbade poverty" when the reference is simply to the usual mercantilistic measures against beggars. Dictionaries are tricky things, and the effects of Russian homonyms can be devastating, as they are when, for example, an "assembly of the village commune" is translated as "peaceful assembly" because in Russian *mir* means both commune (or world) and peace. For apparently similar though more elusive reasons, a book called *Justification of Legal Limits on Interest Rates* appears under the title *Justification of Encouragement of Sobriety by Laws*. In the translators' hands "injury to honor" (a very broad juridical term in the Moscow codes) becomes "dishonesty," "indentured peasants"—"mortgagees," and "red tape" or "the law's delay"—"intriguers." "Peasants *and* cotters" is first rendered as "poor peasants," then "peasants and the poor," before at long last the approximate wording "landless peasants" is hit upon. On the other hand, it is exasperating to see that very often a term is correctly rendered for a number of times, and then suddenly a silly rendition appears. Thus, for instance, the word *chern'* is first properly rendered as "rabble" and "mob," but in a context that required rendition as "common people" the term is translated as "monks," probably because of the association between *chernyi*—"black" and the black clergy. Similar lexical phantasies must be responsible for turning "nations in chains" into "entombed people" or for letting a "reliable method" become a "hopeful sign" or a "reliable monetary system" an "active [?] monetary system."

In translations from the Russian the correct spelling of non-Russian proper names that appear in the Cyrillic script constitutes a problem. At times in this translation they are simply retransliterated. As a result, Charles Dumoulin appears as Diumulen, Mably once and Morelly throughout are Italianized into Mabli and Morelli, and Oncken becomes Onken. Then again the retransliteration can be imaginatively wrong; thus Beardé de l'Abbaye is introduced once as l'Abbé de Bearde and then as Béarde de l'Abbé, whereas Jean Meslier (sometimes spelled Mellier) is unaccountably turned into Jean Mallet. Several Russian place names are garbled because of erroneous derivations from an adjective form in the original.

The volume contains a fairly large number of quotations from, and references

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to, Russian translations of non-Russian authors. The editor failed to check the quotations with, and to supply references to, the originals, thus producing incongruous results. To give only one example, a phrase from Adam Smith: "stock employed in agriculture" was clumsily translated by the Russians as "capital expended in agriculture." This then is fully nonsensically retranslated into English as "capital dissipated in agriculture." The editor was clearly obliged to inform the reader of the correct English original, all the more so as in this case the careless Russian text converts Adam Smith's reference to the "southern provinces of North America" and the "West-Indian Islands" into "South America" and "India." In this volume even quotations from Scripture are freely retranslated from Church Slavic, thus appearing in an unwonted guise, while the "nine beatitudes" of the Sermon on the Mount are unblinkingly translated as "heavenly bliss."

The best thing that can be said about the translation is that on the whole it succeeds fairly well in conveying the drabness and flatness of the original style. But the translation goes too far. For the original text, unattractive as it is, is still graced by many quotations from old Russian or Church Slavic sources, some of which have force and rhythmic and metaphoric beauty. In the original, moreover, such quotations are often preceded by a circumscription of their contents in modern Russian. When the archaic quotations are rendered in flat, modern English, their original character is lost, and they only accentuate the horrible repetitive style of the original.

Harvard University ALEXANDER GERSCHENKRON

DER LIVLÄNDISCHE ORDENSRITTERSTAAT UND RUSSLAND: DER LIVLÄNDISCHE KRIEG UND DIE BALTISCHE FRAGE IN DER EUROPÄISCHEN POLITIK 1558–1583. By *Erich Donnert.* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 320. DM 35.)

IN this volume Erich Donnert of Jena expands earlier articles into a more ambitious attempt to present the Livonian War of Ivan the Terrible as a struggle that for a quarter of a century attracted the attention of all the chancelleries of Europe. His command of most, if not all, of the languages of Northern Europe and his omnivorous reading of published source materials stand him in good stead. With archival material he admittedly has had little success. To Donnert's regret, most of the Baltic archives tantalizingly repose in Marburg, Kiel, and Göttingen; worse still, large parts were moved to the United States. Donnert is aware of unpublished material available in England, but he has tapped neither this resource nor archival materials remaining behind the iron curtain (whose existence he regards as a myth).

The author reviews earlier works in his field, not neglecting to pay his respects to "the well-known American historian of Russia, W. Kirchner," whom, however, he takes to task (though he subsequently cites him frequently) for unduly neglecting the internal development of Livonia, ignoring that of Russia and other states, and almost totally disregarding the fruits of Soviet research. Donnert is, however, himself guilty of these sins, save the last; he justly includes the late Pro-

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fessor J. Zutis of Riga, Professor J. Luria of Leningrad, and Professor A. Zimin of Moscow among the five men to whom he is most deeply indebted.

Donnert's approach is divided geographically, entailing chronological repetition. The first chapter is divided fairly equally between a general discussion of the diplomatic setting, with some account of the military course of the war, and a couple of pages on "Russia under Ivan the Terrible," and more detailed treatment of "The Class Struggle and the Liberation Efforts of the East Baltic Peoples." He does not find it possible to distinguish clearly between these last items, but is positive that they played a role, second only to the Russian onslaught, in destroying the Order of Livonian Knights. A second chapter deals separately with the reactions of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Imperial Diet, of the German princes, and of the German cities to the downfall of Germany's eastern outpost. A third chapter concerns the roles of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland-Lithuania. A final chapter on "The Muscovite State and Western Europe" is subdivided to treat the effects on England, France, Spain, and the Netherlands.

Tsar Ivan is pictured, in italics, as an "outstanding and far-seeing coshaper of international politics," who rightly rejected, on the basis of Genesis, the "reactionary" argument of the Polish king that God had given man honor and free will and who used terror at home only to suppress treason. Polish propaganda, which represented Moscow as a threat to all Christian "free peoples," was naturally unavailing against the material advantages this mighty realm could offer to the rising Western bourgeoisie.

Voprosy istorii, in a somewhat condescending review, gives its blessing to this "successful" book, despite its failure to unearth new materials and to take cognizance of two recent works, one Swedish and one Russian.

The physical structure of the book is disappointing, but it is happily almost wholly free of typographical errors.

Brooklyn College JESSE D. CLARKSON

QUAKERS IN RUSSIA. By *Richenda C. Scott.* (London: Michael Joseph; New York: Hillary House. 1964. Pp. 302. 30*s.*)

MRS. Scott opens a tiny window to the East with her account of Quaker contacts with Russia through three centuries. She tells a vivid tale of Friends trying to convey their point of view to Peter the Great when he went to a Quaker meeting in London in 1697; of a Quaker physician responding, at the peril of his life and that of the Empress, to Catherine II's request that he come and innoculate her for smallpox; of a Quaker farmer giving twenty-two years and the lives of his wife and daughter to land reclamation and agricultural development for Alexander I; of Quaker visitors to persecuted Mennonites, Molokans, and Stundists of the Steppes, and their relocation of the stubborn Doukhobors in Canada.

Modern Quaker relief work began in Finnish Russia after the British fleet had senselessly laid waste the coast of Finland during the Crimean War. Young English and American Quaker medical and social workers attacked the refugee problem along the Volga in 1917 and inaugurated the great international effort for famine relief in Russia in 1921.

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The last Quaker workers left Russia in 1931 when the government closed out their International Center in Moscow. But again, since the war, Friends have patiently tried to rebuild bridges of acquaintance and understanding between East and West. They have sent Westerners to Russia under Quaker auspices and brought back Russian visitors in return. Quaker work camps and international seminars for younger diplomats have encouraged an exchange of views.

It has not been easy. Official suspicion, both tsarist and Soviet, has often hampered Quaker efforts. But tsars and commissars alike have welcomed Friends' help when they had a genuine need. Quakers in Russia have worked in burning heat and bitter cold; they plowed through dust, mud, and snow; they encountered lice, typhus, and many of the diseases that come with medieval living conditions aggravated by war, revolution, and famine. Some survived; some did not. But little short of death could "put off a tough Quaker ridden by a concern."

The author, past president of Friends Historical Society of London, has combed the British Quaker archives and used such American printed sources as are available. Few Russian sources exist except in scanty government reports and the memories of Russian officials, reformers, sectarians, and refugees. The story, unfortunately, will not shake the world. It does not solve the unresolved problems of East and West. But it paints in strong colors a picture of lonely Quakers urged on by their religious faith to struggle for human welfare in old Russia and new. And not without effect. As Fridtjof Nansen said of the pioneer Quaker relief team in the great Volga famine of 1921: "Their foresight and efforts paved the way, as no other agency could have done, for an international effort to save millions of Russian people from starvation."

Haverford College THOMAS E. DRAKE

PETER I., CZAR UND KAISER: ZUR GESCHICHTE PETERS DES GROSSEN IN SEINER ZEIT. In two volumes. By *Reinhard Wittram*. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 490; 646. DM 74 the set.)

IT is an irony of historical scholarship that a comprehensive, full-length biography of Russia's best-known tsar has still to be written. Scholarly monographs have dealt with segments of his career, and longer histories of Russia have incorporated the essentials of his life into their discussions, but the need for a monumental biography of Peter the Great remains.

To fill the gap between the biographical sketches of Peter that exist and the multivolume study that is awaited, is a two-volume biography by Reinhard Wittram, already known for a successful introductory volume on Peter (1954) and for other scholarly writings on Russian and Baltic history. The author recognizes that without an exhaustive use of the Russian archives, which he has not worked through, no one can write "definitively" about Peter. But he justifies his latest work on the basis of a dissatisfaction with existing interpretations of Peter and an inadequate use by historians of sources outside Russia. He has gathered an abundance of data from German, Finnish, and Russian libraries. He has used Swedish, Austrian, and French archives and probed private archives in Vienna for additional information. The result is a broadly based, factually rich new analysis of Peter that is more perceptive and more philosophically oriented than most.

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The work is organized topically and chronologically. Wittram writes well, although his style is sometimes ponderous and occasionally ambiguous. He emphasizes, more than do most historians, Peter's significance for Europe as well as Russia. Peter, he writes, "belongs equally to his people and to the world, and he belongs to Europe both as tsar and emperor." The author is aware of the contradictions of the reign. Peter's contemporaries, he observes, believed that Russia had completely changed in a generation. Europe accepted only the new Russia as related and understandable, thereby losing sight of the earlier and far deeper relationship established between Russia and the West through Christianity. Wittram denies that Peter created a new social basis for the Empire. His reign only confirmed the bondage of the peasant, the power of the nobility, and the dualism of the social structure. Such views may not be strikingly new, but they have been ably restated and are the more convincing because of the author's prodigious scholarship.

The book is particularly successful in showing lesser incidents in Peter's career in a different light. Wittram believes, for example, that the earliest sign of the Tsar's aspiration for the Baltic ports came in 1697 on his journey westward through Livonia, and not later during his trip homeward through Poland and Austria. Peter abandoned his army at Narva (1700) not because of cowardice, but from a conviction that defeat was inevitable and that he, as head of the state, must resume the war on a new front. Peter's friendship with Lefort and Menshikov may have had an erotic character. These are only some of many new slants and revisions that enliven the work.

Wittram's study is, in summary, the most satisfactory published in many years. In fact, not since the studies of Miliukov, Bogoslovskii, Syromiatnikov, and Tarle has anything so impressive appeared. If one seeks a bold interpretation of the reign supported by painstaking research and consistently judicious observation, here it is. An excellent bibliography and a useful index of name references accompany the volumes.

University of California, Davis C. Bickford O'Brien

REVELATIONS OF A RUSSIAN DIPLOMAT: THE MEMOIRS OF DMITRII I. ABRIKOSSOW. Edited by *George Alexander Lensen.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. xxii, 329. $6.95.)

Dmitrii Ivanovich Abrikossow served for some twenty-five years in the Russian diplomatic corps, ending his career in 1925 as chargé d'affaires in Tokyo, when the Japanese government recognized the Soviet regime. Later, in Japan, and, eventually, in the United States, where he emigrated after the Second World War, he wrote his memoirs. He died in Palo Alto, California, in 1951, and his manuscript was deposited in the Archive of East European History and Culture at Columbia University, there to be discovered in 1960 by Professor Lensen, who carefully and extensively edited it for publication.

Coming from a wealthy Moscow merchant family, the author in reminiscences of his childhood, university years, travels, and foreign service wrote from a somewhat different perspective than the usual aristocratic Russian diplomat. Although

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consistently committed to the monarchical form of government for his country, he did not close his eyes to the blundering and ineptitude of Nicholas I, which were responsible for the collapse of the dynasty. While obviously relishing the brilliance of diplomatic life at his various posts, he was a dedicated bureaucrat who did not hesitate to deride pomposity and frivolity among his colleagues. Yet, delightful as these memoirs are of a world and society long gone, they scarcely deserve to be called "Revelations." Being always in the second or third rank of his embassy or legation until the last futile years in Japan, Abrikossow may not have been privy to many diplomatic secrets, although at each post he took upon himself the task of organizing the archives, which should have yielded him much information at least on past negotiations. Whatever the reason, his recollections add little to our knowledge of the diplomatic events of his day, despite his service in London during the Russo-Japanese War, in Peking during the Chinese Revolution of 1911–1912, and in Japan during the last years of the First World War, the Russian Revolution, civil war, and intervention.

Kansas State University ROBERT PAUL BROWDER

RUSSIA AT WAR, 1941–1945. By *Alexander Werth*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1964. Pp. xxv, 1100. $10.00.)

ALEXANDER Werth is a veteran British journalist. Russian-born, he spent most of the war years in the Soviet Union. A facile writer, he is the author of some fifteen books, mostly on Russia and France. He was a "natural" to produce a massive one-volume history of the Soviet Union in World War II.

The jacket quotes William L. Shirer as calling this volume "the best book we probably shall ever have in English on Russia at war." Indeed, Werth's approach and style have some similarity to Shirer's. *Russia at War* is painted on a huge canvas. It is intended for a large audience. It is a skillful account that mixes personal experience (indeed, the author makes considerable albeit judicious use of his wartime writings) with later works—memoirs, scholarly studies, apologia, and, above all, the Soviet *History of the Great Fatherland War*. To say this is to suggest some of the strengths and some of the weaknesses of the product.

At its best, the amalgam is brilliant, compelling, rich and varied in texture, with sympathy and understanding for the people, with a touch of poetry and a sense of destiny. At its worst, it is wordy, irrelevant, partial, and naïve. Werth was a "skeptical friend" of the Soviet Union during the war, with enough independence and integrity to have been skeptical, but basically so committed that it would be unfair to expect from him a study totally divorced from his own emotions. This is particularly true when the major corrective he uses is Moscow's official six-volume history of the war. How much better an observer he was than many others! And how much better the current Soviet version of history is than the Stalinist falsifications of yesteryear! But, granting Werth's extreme good will, his strenuous attempt at balanced judgment, and his considerable talent in producing this book, one will scarcely accept it as "the" history of Russia in World War II.

There are here no pervasive theses, no new theories or hypotheses to "explain" what made Russia tick. This permits the author to concentrate on effective nar-

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ration. Much of the story is, moreover, a matter of established fact. Inevitably, the inaccessibility of Soviet records and the uncertainties of German accounts leave room for considerable doubts that military specialists will wish to raise about some of Werth's judgments.

On the whole, he tends to underplay disagreements and tensions within the Soviet leadership and Soviet society. While by no means oblivious to the strain on loyalties that the war imposed, he rather minimizes the defeatism and tendency to "sit it out" during the first eighteen months of the war. He credits Stalin with more competence and popularity than the present Soviet version would. At times omissions, as well as a frequent (though by no means invariable) tendency to give Moscow the benefit of the doubt, create a questionable pattern of interpretation, as on some aspects of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, Soviet wartime treatment of the Poles, or relations among the Big Three. While he knows and uses German and Soviet postwar accounts (including some interesting recent memoirs), he fails to make adequate use of the writings of "hostile" witnesses.

The author concentrates on description, stopping here and there to weigh the evidence, and often does so judiciously. He does not attempt any over-all interpretation of the way the system or the society worked in wartime. Nor do we learn how Stalin saw the world scene or what his goals were for the future. What we do gain is a sense of the complexities of the Soviet scene, of the profound and lasting impact of the war years, and, above all, of the emotions that stirred a people and that, after a generation of sacrifice, made them accept untold sacrifice, that ordered their conflicting aspirations, sustained them in desperate defense, and led them to bittersweet victory.

Columbia University ALEXANDER DALLIN

Near East

CYPERN: INSEL AM KREUZWEG DER GESCHICHTE. By *Franz Georg Maier*. [Urban-Bücher, Number 81.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1964. Pp. 189. DM 4.80.)

PROFESSOR Maier is one of Germany's promising young scholars in the field of Balkan and Near Eastern history. This volume will not detract from his reputation.

It is impossible, of course, to treat the history and historical significance of Cyprus adequately in such a short book. Yet, despite this handicap, the author presents much interesting and worth-while material. He devotes about two-thirds of his text to the ancient and medieval history of the island, presenting especially informative chapters on the relations of Cyprus with the ancient Near Eastern empires and on Cyprus under the Lusignan dynasty (1192–1489). The remainder of the text is given to chapters on the Ottoman period and the British rule in Cyprus and to an epilogue on the republican experiment since 1960. The Ottoman administration is not given as much credit as it perhaps deserves. The brief history of the republic could have been treated in greater length and with more insight. Perhaps the most valuable part of the book for professional historians is the section

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allotted to bibliographic remarks and notes. Here Maier cites various ancient and medieval authors as well as numerous works of modern Western writers. He cites no works in either Arabic or Turkish, though this may be due simply to the limited nature of this particular book rather than to his lack of acquaintance with such sources.

Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh ROBERT CARLTON DELK

A HISTORY OF MEDIEVAL ISLAM. By *J. J. Saunders.* (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. xv, 219. $6.00.)

THE title of this introductory survey is misleading; as the author notes, his book "does not profess to trace the development of Islam as a religion, and it omits all but the briefest mention of Muslim Spain and India." Art, architecture, philosophy, science, and literature also receive only perfunctory treatment. Mr. Saunders, who was trained in England and teaches in New Zealand, stresses the political and military history of the Muslim Middle East from Mohammed to the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century. Within these limitations, he has produced a clear, sensible, and rather old-fashioned account. The beginning student will be grateful for the many helpful signposts the author sets out along an unfamiliar way. Most of the chapters are rounded off by crisp introductory and concluding generalizations; the frequent comparisons drawn between Islamic developments and more familiar events in European history are for the most part reasonable and enlightening. A glossary, a list of dates, brief chapter bibliographies, and several rather sketchy maps are also provided.

Saunders does not claim to be original, and his book lacks provocative or stimulating passages; it has the cautious, moderate quality that often characterizes a work summarizing the interpretations of specialists. It also has the merit of avoiding the pitfall, so common in writings in this field, of becoming so engrossed in the trees that all sight of the forest is lost.

University of Rochester JOHN B. CHRISTOPHER

A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC LAW. By *N. J. Coulson.* [Islamic Surveys, Number 2.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1964. Pp. viii, 264. $3.95.)

MR. Coulson's compact volume is a clear, comprehensive, and authoritative treatment of the genesis and history of Islamic law in theory and practice, and of the central problem of legal reform now confronting Muslim society.

Islamic law, the Sharia of medieval Islam, is for Muslims the comprehensive catalogue of God's commands and recommendations laid down for the guidance of man. It claims to regulate all his actions, public and private, social and individual, from prayer to commercial transactions to acts of state. Elaborated by generations of scholar-theologians and jurists from the prescriptions of the Koran and the precedents set by Mohammed, the Sharia became over the space of two or three centuries an imposing edifice of law. It was embodied in countless texts, handbooks, and commentaries, and was ultimately spun out to extremes of empty

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scholastic detail. But, eternal, omnicompetent, immutable, it has endured essentially unchanged for more than a thousand years.

Faced with the problem of governing a vast empire acquired with explosive speed, the early Arab rulers of the seventh and eighth centuries were able to fashion a successful administrative system incorporating ideas and institutions from a wide variety of sources—Roman, Persian, Bedouin—with complete empiricism. The Sharia, however, was developed mainly by nonparticipants in that system whose chief motivation, using the precepts of the new religion, was reform. With variations in time and place, they were by and large successful in establishing the Sharia in actual practice, particularly in matters of ritual and family law. But they were never able to bring society and the state under complete Sharia control, and the uneasy tension between legal theory and practice in Islamic history is a main theme of Coulson's book.

In recent times, with the wholesale adoption by Muslim countries of Western legal ideas and institutions, the Sharia has seemingly been all but abandoned. But, following his distinguished mentor, Professor J. Schacht of Columbia University, Coulson points out the close parallel between early Islam, with its massive ingestion of foreign legal ideas and practices, and the present. Unless the idea of a law system based on religion is to be abandoned entirely, he points out, the task for modern Muslims, like that of their medieval predecessors, is once more to ascertain and impose the central ethical norms of Islam upon the functionings of their society.

New York, New York RICHARD H. NOLTE

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECULARISM IN TURKEY. By *Niyazi Berkes.* (Montreal: McGill University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 537. $12.50.)

SECULARIZATION is not quite so broad a process as modernization, but it touches all aspects of life in a society with a religious base. Professor Berkes' book perforce covers much ground. Despite his disclaimers, it is a partial intellectual history of Ottoman and republican Turkey since 1718. His interest is not only in doctrines of, or ideas concerning, secularism, but in the secularizing process as well.

After a résumé of the traditional Ottoman state and its decline, Berkes devotes roughly equal space to five periods: the beginnings of reform, 1718–1826; Mahmud II and the *Tanzimat,* 1826–1878; the era of Abdul-Hamid II, 1878–1908; the Young Turk period, 1908–1919; and the birth and consolidation of the republic, 1919–1939. He makes reference to the political, diplomatic, economic, and social framework within which concepts and reforms evolved, but the book will have greater significance for one already possessing a good background in Turkish history. Some of the references to diplomacy are misleading.

Berkes is at his best where he has done particular research or where he is moved to argument. Such sections, for example, concern Ibrahim Müteferrika, the early eighteenth-century printer and Westernizer; the French Revolution period, where Berkes aims a shaft at Bernard Lewis' views; Mahmud II, praised as a true reformer not yet given his due; the 1859 "Kuleli" revolt, where Berkes takes issue with my analysis; the ephemeral opening of the University of Istanbul in

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1870 and the Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani controversy; the 1876 constitution, interpreted as a victory for Abdul-Hamid; Ahmed Midhat, the great teacher of the public. Berkes' discussion of conflicting currents after 1908, revolving around Westernists, Islamists, and Turkists, is full of information, but not so well organized as most of the book; this may reflect the amorphous nature of the era.

In essence, it seems to me, this is a major, extended commentary on Turkish history, concentrating on those aspects that touch somehow on secularization. It is full of judgments, at times brilliant, at times debatable. Berkes delights in paradox and in a sort of dialectic connecting one period to another, both of which are thought provoking. Throughout runs the jagged line of a general trend toward secularization—affecting government, law, education, literature, philosophy, and religion—and culminating in the Kemalist revolution. At the end, Berkes touches on the still current question: how does Islam fit into a democratic society and state?

George Washington University RODERIC H. DAVISON

NATIONALISM IN IRAN. By *Richard W. Cottam*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 332. $6.00.)

PROFESSOR Cottam begins with the tobacco concession incident of 1890–1892, when, for a paltry consideration, the Shah of Iran granted a monopoly in Persian tobacco processing and marketing to a British citizen. This constituted an invasion of Iranian and, incidentally, Muslim privacy, and was a flagrant instance of despotic disposal of the country's assets for the benefit of a clique at the top, which the people would not tolerate. Their spokesmen were the ulama. Remarkable popular and religious cohesion of forces against the crown suddenly occurred, and the Shah had to rescind the concession. Cottam takes his study to the present, with the contest signaled by the tobacco concession scandal continuing and the government still at odds with certain vocal elements of the people, though the monolithic popular disgust with the rulers characteristic of the turn of the century is no longer present.

The granting of concessions to foreigners is a natural starting point for a study of nationalism. The Qajar shahs, supplanted by the House of Pahlavi in 1925, were guilty of selling Iran's assets to alien speculators. Nationalist sentiments were aroused by this highhanded and improvident procedure, but not, however, to a degree justifying giving the force of nationalism in modern Iranian politics the place of most importance. This could only be justified were the whole of these politics to be treated as the conflict between denizens of Iran, of whose geographical factors Cottam shows such perception, and interlopers or threats from outside. To do this would be to ignore the more fundamental issue: that between individualism and collectivism; liberalism (of the classical kind) and socialism; freedom and totalitarianism. This is the real issue in Iran, and so the problem is one that we are all close to, not that of a remote "Oriental" state. Hence, as it did for Herodotus, Iranian history provides what might be called almost casebook instances of universal political and social tensions and problems.

Thus, apart from its intrinsic merits based on the author's lucidity, admirable

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acquaintance with a wide range of Persian-language sources (though these are too often used for headlines rather than subjected to close, analytical examination), and firsthand knowledge, Cottam's study is important to many besides the student of Iran. It is, therefore, more important that, choosing nationalism as his premise and not taking a view of history that extends further into the past, he has missed the main issue.

The conflict began significantly with Abbas Mirza's creation of a "national" army and attempts, in face of the Russian challenge, to wield Iran into an efficient, organized state since 1805. National, certainly, but also popular and religious opposition was against creeping limitation of the people's right to select their own ends, the state providing means only, not dictating aims; and against the state arrogating to itself the role of religion. Islam is a supranational faith, in which what belongs to God and what to Caesar were never clearly differentiated. The state and nationalism won, despite an attempted liberal synthesis in the constitutional movement of 1905–1909, but the tension still remains.

Cottam could have written a brilliant narrative history; he could have left the political scientist to draw his own conclusions. But he seems to be the victim of the prevailing trend, attempting only to make an offering to one of the parts into which poor Clio has in our age been dismembered. It is to be hoped that he will write the study so badly needed of the era of Dr. Musaddiq; this book proves him to be the best qualified person to do this, provided he writes history and persuades university presses that "analysis" can only come when the history is straightened out and main issues can be perceived.

Harvard University PETER W. AVERY

Africa

AFRICA IN TIME-PERSPECTIVE: A DISCUSSION OF HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION FROM UNWRITTEN SOURCES. A SERIES OF LECTURES GIVEN AT THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF GHANA 1961. By *Daniel F. McCall.* (Boston: Boston University Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. xvii, 175. $4.00.)

THESE cogent lectures discuss the validity for historical study of evidence obtained from archaeology, oral traditions, linguistics, ethnology, plant and animal development, and art; three concluding chapters consider the problems of chronology, of "process" (human interaction with natural and social environment) through time, and of the addition and integration of the new techniques and types of sources from other disciplines into the panoply of historians' methods and syntheses. The fact that progress has been made since the lectures were prepared for press illustrates the relevance of the case presented.

Of particular general interest is the introductory chapter on the nature and reliability of historical evidence. The author indicates the lack of finality in historical truth and the need for continual reinterpretation and the use of judgment; unwritten documents, the problems posed by them, and their relationship to schools of historical interpretation and method are considered; and some parallels or comparisons are made between African historiographical problems and the use of

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various sources in established historical fields. The lectures validly point out that historical study of Africa is still at an early stage of development so that, while the degree of certitude may be less than in other areas, there is room to expect that adequate organization, disciplined adaptation of methods, and the careful development of defensible criteria will lead to a substantial and increasing body of acceptable historical evidence.

McCall's essays are perhaps the best collection of reasoned arguments for the newer, broader concepts of noncolonial African history. They are helpful to specialists and particularly illuminating for those doing introductory work. Moreover, this little volume is probably the one that would be most meaningful and helpful for historians in other fields who would like to see what African history and historiographical problems now are.

University of Alberta DONALD L. WIEDNER

AMERICANS IN BLACK AFRICA UP TO 1865. By *Clarence C. Clendenen* and *Peter Duignan*. [Hoover Institution Studies, Number 5.] ([Stanford, Calif.:] Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1964. Pp. vii, 109. $1.50.)

THIS is the second monograph in a promised series concerning Americans in Africa, a field of investigation that has been neglected until recently. Any work that might act as a stimulus to more scholarly activity in this area, therefore, is to be welcomed. The monograph obviously was not conceived to be an exhaustive investigation of American relations with Africa in the period before 1865. In the preface the authors frankly state their modest goal of providing a "general outline" of American activity. The book is based almost entirely upon printed material and is quite short considering its time span and diversity of topics. One could wish that more space had been devoted to each of the three topics—"American Traders," "Missionaries and Colonization Societies," and "Explorers and Frontiersmen"—which could have been done without changing the nature of the study. Thus it would have been possible to do more than arouse the reader's curiosity over the careers of such men as Richard Waters, Martin Delaney, John Wilson, and Daniel Lindley.

The major fault of the work as presented is the tendency toward generalizations that are not supported by adequate evidence. One example of this habit is the statement that "American traders almost dominated the commercial scene in West Africa." A collation of the two footnotes at the bottom of the page casts considerable doubt on this assertion. Another questionable generalization concerns American trade's being "a major reason" for European expansion in West Africa. A last example is the conclusion: "but it was Du Chaillu who had pioneered in the opening of Africa." These and other similar oversimplifications mar what is otherwise a good overview of American interest in Africa. The authors have a subject that does not require overstatement. The work, despite certain shortcomings, provides a good introduction to the subject and will perhaps encourage more study of Americans in Africa in the nineteenth century.

San Jose State College HARRY A. GAILEY, JR.

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ALGERIAN VOICES. By *Richard* and *Joan Brace*. (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xi, 233. $3.95.)

THE Braces' *Ordeal in Algeria* (1960) covered the background and first five years of the recent rebellion against French rule. In that work they presented the evolution of the Algerian conflict in a manner that the FLN considered objective and sympathized with the cause of Algerian independence. These characteristics made possible the travels in Tunisia in 1961 and 1962 and the conversations with Algerians and their European friends that form the greater part of the present volume.

On the whole, the reports of the interviews show the Braces to be perspicacious observers. The portraits of important FLN revolutionists and the views of labor and student leaders on the future of the new Algeria contain much of permanent interest. The descriptions of refugee children whom the Braces and other Americans aided through the Algerian Children's Fund are not only masterful; they show the terrible consequences for ordinary human beings of a rebellion that cost 1,000,000 lives and displaced 3,000,000 persons, including 750,000 Frenchmen. Along with these merits the work has shortcomings that limit its value for students of contemporary history. It is difficult to get a clear picture of either the immediate setting for the conversations or the evolving historical situation. Confusion results from references in the interview reports to developments that occurred in subsequent months. Though the writing often shows vitality and freshness, it is at other times tediously repetitious and unclear. The long-range importance of the book may well lie in its potential contribution to our understanding of the processes of revolution, for it provides many insights into the working out of a colonial rebellion that has become one of the most thoroughgoing social revolutions of our time.

Ohio University DAVID E. GARDINIER

THE CONGO SINCE INDEPENDENCE: JANUARY 1960–DECEMBER 1961. By *Catherine Hoskyns*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 518. $8.80.)

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE: GHANA AND THE IVORY COAST. By *I. Wallerstein*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^{e} Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Le monde d'outre-mer passé et présent. First Series. Études, Number 20.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. xiii, 200. Glds. 22.)

BOTH books are interim compilations of raw material for the study of modern African history, the first work being the broader. The two years from the January 1960 riots to the December 1961 collapse of Katanga, upon which the study focuses, is in view of subsequent events perhaps more arbitrary than the author intended, and the historical background, though quite succinctly outlined, is less connected to the main events than one expects in a critical analysis. As the author occasionally admits, the events are too recent to allow the book to be either a relatively impartial catalogue or a synthesis and distillation of the Congo crisis. But it

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is appropriate and useful to have references to and the essence from the documents, official and ephemeral, along with the memoirs and impressions of the moment, gathered together; this is thus a chronology with commentary of perhaps the most extensively (but still not exhaustively) described modern African problem. The work is soundly documented and indexed, well organized for either ready reference or continuous reading of the sequence of events; it does not provide much new evidence, and it leaves the major disputes (Katangese secession, Lumumba's and Hammarskjöld's deaths, C. C. O'Brien's charges, General Janssens' premutiny motives, and so forth) summarized rather than probed.

Wallerstein's study focuses upon voluntary associations—nongovernmental, nonprofit "group[s] less than the state," including political parties—and modern elites as agents or vehicles for social change. The historical recapitulation of the growth of nationalism, based upon extended reading in the standard literature, is lengthy in proportion to the author's main focus and contribution, a tabulation of correlations based upon interviews with 204 leaders of voluntary associations in Ghana and the Ivory Coast in 1956–1957. Despite initial references to a difference between the peasant cocoa growers of Ghana (whose main concern was the marketing system) and the Ivory Coast peasant (who feared the European planter competition), the study is not comparative. It makes no further major distinctions and indeed does not even separate out the statistical results for the two countries. In short, the published poll results are really an average of the tabulated returns from the two countries. Sample deductions are indicated by the titles of the appropriate statistical tables: "Leaders Who Prefer Opposition Show Sharper Decline in Political Interest in 1956–57 from Previous Periods than Others"; "The More Groups a Leader Belongs to, the More He Sees the Route to Power as Political"; "If Leader Prefers Opposition or Is Neutral, the More Groups He Belongs to, the More He Has Local Political Aspirations"; "Education Is Correlated with Occupation." There is no doubt that Wallerstein is correct in stressing the importance and relevance of voluntary associations in radical social change, but it is less clear how much his interview data really reveal on this score. One regrets the syntactical infelicity, numerous typographical errors, and inconvenient relegation of complex footnotes to chapter endings.

University of Alberta DONALD L. WIEDNER

MISSIONS TO THE NIGER. Volume I, THE JOURNAL OF FRIEDRICH HORNEMANN'S TRAVELS FROM CAIRO TO MURZUK IN THE YEARS 1797–98; THE LETTERS OF MAJOR ALEXANDER GORDON LAING, 1824–26. Edited by *E. W. Bovill*. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Number 123.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1964. Pp. xi, 406. $7.50.)

THE discovery of the Niger is an exciting chapter in African history. The African Association was organized in 1788 to coordinate efforts to solve this fascinating problem, and it sponsored the successful expedition of Mungo Park who discovered the Niger in 1796. In 1797 Friedrich Hornemann was sent to Cairo to attempt to reach the Niger by crossing the desert. He traveled from Cairo to Murzuk and,

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later, visited extensive areas in the western Sudan. His *Journal* describes the journey to Murzuk. The remainder was lost after his death in 1798. Hornemann was a man of courage, resourceful to an extraordinary degree but deficient as an observer. Consequently he added little of value to current knowledge of the areas he visited.

The Letters of Major Alexander Gordon Laing have been assembled by the editor from a variety of sources. Laing was primarily interested in penetrating the mysteries of Timbuktu, the ancient cultural center of the western Sudan. His interest in the Niger was secondary. Apprehensive lest rival explorers get the credit, he tells us little about the places he visited. This information he planned to publish as a journal upon his return. His unfortunate death in 1826, and the subsequent failure to recover the journal, cost scholars "a work of immense value." In the opinion of the editor it would have taken rank with the monumental work of Henry Barth and surpassed in value the work of Denham and Clapperton, both highly regarded in the literature of African exploration.

Bovill is to be commended for his careful, meticulous, and intelligent handling of the material. His comments, interpolations, and interpretations are the most valuable feature of the volume.

Temple University ARTHUR N. COOK

THE FRENCH AT KILWA ISLAND: AN EPISODE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY EAST AFRICAN HISTORY. By *G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 243. $6.75.)

FRENCH interest in the Eastern African coast, stimulated by traders from the then colonies of Île de France and Bourbon (now Mauritius and Réunion), was first analyzed at length by R. Coupland in his *East Africa and Its Invaders* (1938). Coupland based his account on a copy of the manuscript of M. Morice, a French trader who, after visiting the area in search of slaves, concluded a treaty in 1776 with the ruler of the once dominant Eastern African city-state of Kilwa. The manuscript, held by Oxford University, included a series of questions and answers about Kilwa, Eastern Africa, and Madagascar designed to provide the French government with the necessary information for a decision on whether or not to accept the treaty. The French, busy elsewhere, did not act. Coupland, however, did not extend his search for other French manuscripts to buttress his discussion of Morice's projects. Sir John Gray carried on the study of the French role in his numerous articles in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* and in his *History of Zanzibar* (1962) while G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville found new documents to include in his *The East African Coast* (1962).

Now, in *The French at Kilwa Island,* Freeman-Grenville has found important new documents in French archives and elsewhere to tell more fully the story of Morice and his successors. An analysis of the new material is given, along with the text of the documents concerned. The result is a significant addition to our knowledge of the French presence and of the African reaction to the French visitors. The story, however, as presented by Freeman-Grenville remains incomplete. Additional documents are available in French archives that illuminate the abortive

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French efforts for a treaty with Kilwa. My forthcoming article, "France and Zanzibar, 1776–1844," in *Boston University Papers on African Studies,* III, utilized the new finds to help extend the work begun by Coupland, Gray, and Freeman-Grenville.

The French at Kilwa Island stands, nevertheless, as a valuable contribution to the history of Eastern Africa. It is only to be regretted that Freeman-Grenville in his analysis does not give the same attention to those sections of his documents relating to Madagascar as he does to areas now located in Tanzania.

Boston University NORMAN R. BENNETT

HISTOIRE DU CONGO (LÉOPOLDVILLE). By *Robert Cornevin.* [Mondes d'outre-mer. Series: Histoire.] (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault. 1963. Pp. 336. 33 fr.)

HISTOIRE DU DAHOMEY. By *Robert Cornevin.* [Mondes d'outre-mer. Series: Histoire.] (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault. 1962. Pp. 568. 33 fr.)

CRITICIZED for previous "overly ambitious" and "hastily executed" histories of the African continent as a whole (see *Journal of African History,* I [No. 2, 1960], 313–15, 317–19), R. Cornevin has recently attempted country-by-country surveys of French-speaking Africa (begun with a 1959 volume on Togo). Cornevin is a former French colonial administrator and now heads the African section of the French government's *Documentation Française.* He is therefore more familiar with, and closer to, the primary sources on Dahomey than those on the Congo. This fact partially accounts for the relative length of the study on tiny Dahomey. His close ties to the French government also might explain Cornevin's preface and conclusion to the Congo study, which show a particularly violent anti-United Nations bias and appeal for technical assistants from the French-speaking world to replace "incompetent" UN personnel (presumably "Anglo-Saxons"). After this brief attack, Cornevin regains scholarly impartiality. In addition to a chapter on the physical setting, *Histoire du Congo* contains chapters on prehistory (migrations of the Bantu) and precolonial history (early kingdoms) based on oral tradition and Portuguese explorers' writings (consulted in secondary works). A readable, if somewhat factual, account of nineteenth-century exploration is followed by a fascinating analysis of Leopold II's activity in founding and governing the Congo Free State. A chapter on the Belgian "half-century" explores international, administrative, economic, and social problems in the colony. The political status of the Congo during World War II is curiously absent. The last seventy pages treat events from 1955 to 1962. No single book in English has attempted such an all-inclusive survey of events.

In his detailed study of Dahomey, Cornevin uses oral traditions and the particularly abundant European accounts which date from the beginning of the slave trade in the sixteenth century. Cornevin served more than eight years in Dahomey and neighboring Togo as a colonial officer. The book is the product of a 1961 trip during which he consulted district office archives and gathered oral traditions. He devotes over two hundred pages to "native history and civilizations": migrations, genealogies, battles, political organization, customs. The balance of the study treats European installation on the coast from the seventeenth century to 1839,

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French occupation and rivalry with other powers on the frontiers, French administration, missionary activities, economic development, and recent political history to 1961. Both books contain extensive bibliographies, the Dahomey bibliographical essay containing over five hundred titles. Each study is well supplied with maps, many photographs, and an adequate index.

Northwestern University JACQUES LOUIS HYMANS

POLITICS IN THE CONGO: DECOLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE. By *Crawford Young*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 659. $12.50.)

RAPID decolonization of the Belgian Congo, followed by mutiny, flight, disorder, secession, international intervention, reunion, and further rebellion, is the most dramatic episode so far in the liquidation of African empire. It is certain to be one of the most thoroughly studied by future historians, and already more than a dozen volumes have appeared. Most of them are either partisan tracts for the times or journalistic efforts to catch the momentary public interest. Professor Young's work is in quite another category. It is the product of several years of detailed research, based on investigations inside the Congo both before and after independence as well as on the documentary record. It belongs to the group of excellent studies of African political processes by American political scientists, a research effort that has already contributed far more than the work of historians to our understanding of African history during the past twenty years. It is also the most balanced and authoritative study of the recent Congo to appear so far, readable and with surprising maturity of judgment on events so recently current.

By intent, *Politics in the Congo* is not a work of history, but of political analysis. Young, however, has a broad view of the background necessary to understand political processes. His book will be most useful to historians for perspective it provides over the decades before 1960. More than three hundred pages are given to the Congo of the 1950's and earlier, while only fifty pages are devoted to the now-familiar narrative of events between 1960 and 1963. This section is followed in turn by more detailed and more narrowly political analysis of some of the principal problems of the early 1960's: parliamentary life, the administration, the role of police and army, the search for a federal solution, and the ethnic rearrangement of the provinces. An epilogue brings the story to the end of 1964, but the serious contribution is based on data for the period to the latter part of 1963, that is, to the reunion with Katanga, but not to the new disorders of 1964–1965.

University of Wisconsin PHILIP D. CURTIN

Asia and the East

CHINA. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

ONE way to evaluate a book is to measure it in terms of the objectives set for it by the publishers and the author. According to the publishers, the series of which this

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is a part will summarize "the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to each nation's present-day character, problems and behavior." "Recent data," they say, "are incorporated with established historical background to achieve a fresh synthesis and original interpretation." Professor Latourette writes in the preface that his book seeks to answer three questions: Why did the Communists succeed in taking over the mainland? How successfully have they carried out their aims between 1949 and the present? How much of old China persists? Its chief theme, he says, is that during the past few generations China has been experiencing an "ongoing revolution" in which Communist rule is only a "passing phase."

Part I is a rapid survey of what the author calls the "contemporary scene." He considers here the social, political, and economic structure of the People's Republic of China; the extension of its power into peripheral areas; and its relations with Russia, Japan, and the United States. A short section is devoted to Taiwan.

The remaining parts are largely a drastic condensation, in a rearranged form, of his well-known *The Chinese: Their History and Culture.* In these sections the author is concerned with the main outlines of premodern Chinese history and culture; the nineteenth-century "impact of the West"; and the "revolutionary transitions" of the twentieth century. A short bibliography and an index are appended.

In my opinion the objectives of the publishers and the author have not been achieved. While Latourette has undoubtedly summarized the "chief historical trends and influences," the treatment is much too brief to permit any real insight into China's "present-day character, problems and behavior." Nor do I find much evidence of a "fresh synthesis and original interpretation." As for the three questions posed in the author's preface, I am afraid they go largely unanswered, at least in any meaningful way. The point is, of course, that the publishers claim far more for the book than can be accomplished in its short space. The problem is simply too complex. The book is also marred by several inaccuracies in the text and bibliography and a number of misplaced or omitted subsection headings.

University of Maine JOHN J. NOLDE

LA CHINE ET L'OCCIDENT: LE COMMERCE À CANTON AU XVIII[e] SIÈCLE, 1719–1833. In three volumes and an album. By *Louis Dermigny.* [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI[e] Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Ports, routes, trafics, Volumes XVIII, XVIII[1], XVIII[2], XVIII[3].] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1964. Pp. iv, 12–440; 446–925; 930–1625; 130.)

PROOF that Dermigny's four volumes constitute the most comprehensive single study of the Canton trade that has yet appeared is found in its size. And its quality comes near to matching its quantity. What distinguishes these volumes is the author's sustained effort to see the Sino-European trade at Canton in the context of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century world economy as a whole. In each of the three main chronological sections of the work (roughly, 1719–1760, the heyday of the European East India Companies; 1760–1784, in which the tea trade comes into its prime and private shipping and commercial interests begin to ap-

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pear in the China trade; and 1784–1833, the era of cotton and opium, of British primacy, and of the increasing importance of the "country trade"), Dermigny points out parallels between the developing European economy and that of Ch'ing China and suggests, sometimes with considerable force, that these in part have been mediated by the China trade.

For the European side of the trade and the European context, Dermigny is brilliant. To the more frequently used British materials he has added an immense amount of data from French national, departmental, and municipal archives. The monetary, fiscal, commercial, political, and stylistic effects of the produce of China in Europe are nowhere else so fully and competently handled. Dermigny is good, too, on the country trade and on the "free traders," especially the French after the end of the monopoly of the *Compagnie des Indes* in 1769. If, for the Chinese side of the trade at Canton (the structure, process, and impact of the trade at Canton on the China of the Manchu Emperors Yung-cheng, Ch'ien-lung, and Chia-ch'ing), his account is less detailed and sometimes less convincing, it is not because he has failed to utilize available Western and, in a few cases, Chinese studies of eighteenth-century China. Indeed, one of the noteworthy accomplishments of this work is the skill and sensitivity with which Dermigny has assimilated into his analysis an amazingly wide range of specialized Sinological literature. The problem is that there is nothing on the Chinese side that has yet come to light comparable to the records of the East India Company and the *Compagnie des Indes,* or to the papers of such private agency houses as Jardine Matheson. While Dermigny has not plunged into the immense reservoir of Ch'ing documents—and for the political and intellectual threads of his story this is a lacuna to be noted—it is in any case doubtful that such a Ch'ing project as he suggests would yield economic or personal data as valuable as those which he has been able to assemble for the European side of the trade.

It is perhaps gratuitous to record a still vague misgiving after having profited so much from these volumes. The author suggests that the total value of European trade at Canton in 1783 was approximately equivalent to the traffic at the one European port of Nantes in the same year. Unfortunately, he offers no full analysis of the size of the Canton trade (or of the East India trade as a whole) as a proportion of total European foreign trade in the eighteenth century. Has the author perhaps ridden the Canton trade too hard in proportion to its intrinsic role in the development of the European economy? Finally, the usual French *table des matières,* however detailed, is no substitute for a good index in a book of this length.

University of Michigan ALBERT FEUERWERKER

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE IN HONG KONG, 1841–1962: A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY. By *G. B. Endacott.* ([Hong Kong:] Hong Kong University Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. xiv, 263. $6.00.)

THE constitutional history of Hong Kong explains both the nature of a crown colony governing a predominantly Chinese community and British commercial

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and political interest in China in general, as the colony served not only itself but also British communities in other treaty ports. G. B. Endacott, having already published five books (two coauthored) on Hong Kong, now contributes a new dimension to our understanding of Hong Kong history. The "constitution" of which Endacott writes consists of two documents: the Hong Kong Charter of April 5, 1843, and the instructions to Sir Henry Pottinger, dated the following day. Despite the direct control of political life from London, the author observes that "laissez-faire ideas" were prevalent in the administration of Hong Kong through the customary colonial agencies of an Executive Council, Legislative Council, and other specialized agencies created later. The policy led to a liberalizing effort to allow Chinese participation in the administration and ultimately in the development of greater self-government.

The process of constitutional change was one of slow evolution. Chinese participation in the government of Hong Kong did not begin until 1880 when Ng Choy (Wu T'ing-fang) was appointed to the Legislative Council. The first Chinese appointment to the Executive Council (Chow Shouson), moreover, was not made until July 1926—an action taken to check the nationalistic sentiment stimulated by the Kuomintang, which tended to arouse anti-British feelings in China and weakened Chinese loyalty in Hong Kong.

Schemes to develop municipal self-government prior to 1860 were abortive, largely because there was little support for it among influential residents. While petitions were drawn up in the 1890's, serious consideration for further liberalization of the constitution did not develop until after World War II when British colonial policy in general allowed greater independence. Substantial progress in self-government was achieved by 1962, and Endacott is impressed that this was accomplished without the tradition of a broad electoral machinery and without a revolutionary response to an oppressive regime. He is, moreover, optimistic that the trend will continue.

This balanced and factual account of constitutional change in Hong Kong is organized around major developments set within logical time periods and is based on official British government sources and newspapers concerned with south China. Although written in a stodgy style, it will be useful reading not only for Hong Kong specialists but also for those interested in East Asia and the British Empire in general.

University of Wisconsin LEONARD GORDON

YEAR OF THE TIGER. By *Alvin D. Coox*. (Tokyo: Orient/West. 1964. Pp. 171. $7.50.)

"Before I left England for China," a British ambassador once wrote, "a friend told me that there exists a Chinese curse—'May you live in interesting times.'" With these words Alvin Coox begins his study of the twelve months that followed the outbreak of the "China Incident." It was an interesting year; during its span the fighting that had begun at the Marco Polo Bridge in July 1937 spread rapidly into a full-scale war. The period covered by Coox could have been the year in which

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diplomacy provided a solution, but instead it became the year in which the Japanese Army betook itself, step by step, into what turned out to be a quagmire, even by the army's own definition. A French view of the American role at this time is far from flattering: the United States, "slumbering amidst contradictory but linked illusions of isolation and of collective security," failed to exert its so-called moral pressure "with any effective firmness," thus accomplishing little more with its "impotent invectives . . . than to corroborate Japan's causes for resentment and feelings of impunity."

By their military action the Japanese succeeded in doing what no Chinese leader had been able to accomplish: they roused the people of China to fighting pitch and gave them an extraordinary incentive to abandon factionalism, at least for the duration. In 1941 Japan was to achieve a similar "first" with respect to the United States as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor, though Americans were far more united as a people and far more prepared for a Japanese assault than the Chinese had been.

The year studied by Coox is interesting for another reason, for Japan was even then beset by a number of handicaps that were to grow more serious with the passage of time. The basic list includes intra- and interservice rivalry, ineffective coordination between the civil and military arms of the government, irresponsibility in the Diet, and various other problems on the home front. Already present, in addition, was that dangerous trend toward insubordination within the army known as *geḳoḳujō* (literally, "the domination of seniors by their juniors")—a subject that Coox handles extremely well. This being the situation within Japan, the wonder is that anyone dared dream of new and greater undertakings abroad.

Although he is writing primarily for the specialist, Coox employs a style that suggests that he hopes to reach a wider audience. The book badly needs a bibliography despite the detailed information given in the notes (which confirm the wide range of the author's sources). Macrons should have been employed at least in the footnotes and index. The use of italics for long quotations interferes with a proper reading of the text, though this odd typographic diversion may be the fault of the publisher rather than of the author.

Year of the Tiger touches on much that is already familiar, but Coox adds many new insights in the process, the quotations from extensive interviews with innumerable officers of the defunct Imperial Army and Navy being especially interesting and useful. The book, however, is not exactly what its title suggests. It does not deal with the astrologer's "Year of the Tiger," for only the first half of 1938 is represented. This would not matter if the author had not raised the issue by an early reference to the meaning of his title. Thus equipped, the reader may too easily conclude that he is traveling with an author who knew where he wanted to go, but did not decide in advance how to get there. It is only at the end of the book, when the author's year and the tiger's year emerge as separate entities, that the reader can fully appreciate how much of value Coox has shown him along the way.

University of Washington R. J. C. Butow

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SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN JAPAN. By *Herbert Passin.* [Teachers College, Columbia University, Comparative Education Studies; Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.] ([New York:] Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, and East Asian Institute, Columbia University. 1965. Pp. xvii, 347. $2.95.)

Two separate essays and a collection of documents related to the problems discussed in the essays comprise this work. The first essay deals with the introduction of a modern educational system in the Meiji period; the second focuses on the relationship between education and job opportunities in recent decades. In the former the author studies the educational changes implemented by the Meiji leaders, hoping to determine if the Japanese experience might not provide lessons for underdeveloped nations of today. In order to assess the degree of transformation that occurred in the Meiji era he first probes the nature of education in the Tokugawa era, presenting a convincing case that education was fairly widespread then, particularly among the ruling elite. Toward the end of that era, some degree of education was spreading among the common people too. The estimated literacy rate among the samurai men was almost 100 per cent while, over-all, a rate of 40 to 50 per cent male literacy prevailed. Although the content of education was largely Confucian in nature, practical subjects were not completely ignored. Consequently, the introduction of a modern compulsory educational system by the Meiji leaders was not as revolutionary a step as might be imagined. In the early years of Meiji the number of children in the schools and the literacy rate did not greatly increase, although effective universal compulsory attendance was achieved in about thirty years. Thus it would appear that the Japanese example does not provide a good model for underdeveloped nations that do not enjoy the kind of educational background that Meiji Japan inherited from the Tokugawa era.

It is somewhat disappointing that the author does not adequately deal with the key questions raised for the underdeveloped nation: "What effects will education have on our economy, society and polity?" "Does Japan's experience have any answers to give?" Another question that Passin might have pursued would be a comparison of the level of education and literacy between Japan and the Western nations in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The second essay demonstrates conclusively the close correlation between graduating from the right universities and obtaining attractive jobs. The final chapter of this section deals with the policy of indoctrination that was practiced in the prewar schools.

These problems could be probed more in depth, but as an opening wedge into the historical and contemporary educational problems of Japan this work is highly useful. The forty-three documents provide valuable underpinnings to the two essays and enable us to gain some insight into the mode of thought of the molders of traditional and modern Japanese education. Passin has utilized both Japanese and English sources and has synthesized the material in a clear, accurate, and systematic fashion.

Knox College MIKISO HANE

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MINISTERS OF MODERNIZATION: ELITE MOBILITY IN THE MEIJI RESTORATION, 1868–1873. By *Bernard S. Silberman.* ([Tucson:] University of Arizona Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 135. $6.00.)

It is the subtitle rather than the catchy title that more precisely informs us of Professor Silberman's purpose in this brief study. As part of a broader concern with the nature and dynamics of Meiji leadership, he has selected to examine the "social characteristics" of 235 of the top 312 civil servants in the Meiji government between 1868 and 1873 in order to identify the factors that influenced their rise to political power. The first third of the book describes the Tokugawa stratification systems and the general social system within which mobility took place. This enables him to establish the criteria for ranking those in his sample and to analyze such general factors as population growth, economic expansion, and role specialization that contributed to elite mobility in Tokugawa Japan.

The main part of the book is an exhaustive statistical examination of the traditional and nontraditional influences affecting the rise of the new elite. Buttressed by innumerable tables and charts, the work concludes that while the Meiji elite came wholly from the pre-1868 elite, there were two groups among the leadership: the "traditional" elite that was bound by traditional patterns of behavior and the "non-traditional" elite made up predominantly of lower samurai who prior to 1868 engaged in "innovational behavior." By 1873 the latter supplanted the former because their early commitment to innovation made them more capable of effecting the changes that met the challenge of the national crisis, and the success of these changes brought them to power. Thus the key to elite mobility, Silberman contends, was less a consequence of "lowness" in samurai rank or origin in an "outer" fief than the "acquisition of [Western] knowledge and techniques which enabled those who held them to deal with change."

It is reassuring to have this statistical evidence for accepted interpretations. On the other hand, problems of definition and assumptions limit the value of the study. A lack of precision in the definition of such categories and terms as "nontraditional political activities" and "status deprivation" and the absence of concrete examples and individual cases (inclusion of the names of those in his sample would have been most useful) make it difficult for the reader to test the validity of his method. For example, without more specific evidence to support his claim that status deprivation was one cause for the innovative activities of lower samurai, it is hard to know whether he disproves Professor Craig's counterimpression that in Choshu, at least, the samurai were no worse off "in the Bakumatsu period than they had been fifty or one hundred years earlier" ("The Chōshū Restoration Movement," *Journal of Asian Studies,* XVIII [Feb. 1959], 191). In presenting his data, Silberman has much to say that is interesting and illuminating. His provocative contention that a key to Japan's success in modernization is to be found in the close link between the new national elite and the local elites deserves serious attention.

University of Michigan ROGER F. HACKETT

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THE BENGAL NATIVE INFANTRY: ITS ORGANISATION & DISCIPLINE, 1796–1852. By *Amiya Barat.* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay. 1962. Pp. xii, 341. Rs. 25.)

ANY scholar in the field of Indian history who ignores this study on the presumption that it is a routine military chronicle is making a serious mistake. It is, in fact, a very solidly based investigation of an important element in the great revolt of 1857: the mutinous state of the sepoy army.

Mrs. Barat effectively demonstrates how the lesson of mutiny after mutiny went unlearned until the eve of the great explosion. The European officers of the Bengal Army were frustrated by the lack of promotional opportunity and the cheeseparing policies of the company, and they tended to regard everything Indian as decadent. Furthermore, they were frequently absent from their units for long periods of time while acting as "military-civilians" or in some other special assignment.

With the sepoys the most important source of discontent was financial. Their pay remained at seven rupees a month throughout the period discussed, although the cost of living crept upward. It should be understood that the native soldiery were nominally expected to feed themselves as well as provide their own clothes, transport, and huts. A second cause of bad morale was the sepoys' fear that they would lose caste by being shipped overseas. And there was also the question of prestige. As the nineteenth century unfolded the administration of the company steadily lost its military character while collectors, magistrates, and civil engineers began to occupy the center of the stage. Such officials were loath to accord to the sepoy the special regard that he had once enjoyed. The native noncommissioned officers were elderly veterans with a lifetime stake in the service who were little inclined to voice the grievances of the native rank and file.

In a word, this is an impeccable monograph based on catholic sources, including some important Bengali material. A dash of curry is added in the form of illustrations from the India Office Library.

Los Angeles Valley College MARK NAIDIS

AGRARIAN RELATIONS AND EARLY BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES (UTTAR PRADESH) (1801–1833). By *Sulekh Chandra Gupta.* (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. xix, 338. $11.00.)

No single aspect of British rule in India had a greater impact on the social and economic structure of Indian society than the introduction of new methods of assessing and collecting the "land revenue," that peculiarly Indian form by which the surplus product of the peasantry was appropriated for the benefit of higher authority. These new policies were not uniform, however. As British rule was progressively extended across the subcontinent, several distinct systems were developed: the zamindari Permanent Settlement in Bengal, which transformed revenue collecting officials (zamindars) into a virtual landed aristocracy; the ryotwari system in Madras, where revenue settlements were made with the individual

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peasants (ryots); and the *mahalwari* system in the ceded and conquered provinces of the upper Ganges, which combined certain features of both systems.

This book, originally a doctoral dissertation at the University of Delhi, examines in careful detail the way in which the *mahalwari* system evolved historically during the first three decades of British rule in northern India. The author begins with an extensive review of the indigenous land revenue system which existed before the advent of British authority, and then proceeds to trace the shifting pressures by which the new system was ultimately shaped. The final outcome was determined by the interplay of several factors: dissatisfaction with the way the Bengal system had fixed in perpetuity the revenue to be collected by the government, and with the cumbersome procedure of settlements with individual peasants required by the Madras system; the changing nature of British interests in India, marked by the free traders' victory over the company in 1813; the influence of utilitarianism and classical political economy, and in particular the Ricardian theory of rent; and, finally, the political necessity of compromise with the vested interests created during the early years of British rule in the region, when policies patterned on the Bengal system had begun to be introduced.

This is not an easy book to read, even for one who is familiar with the main points at issue. It is tightly reasoned, but often highly technical. Gupta's method involves close analysis of, and extensive quotation from, the ponderous memorandums through which British officials sought to determine their course of action. Yet he seeks always to go beyond the technicalities and point out their implications for the realities of land tenure and relationships between the various classes in the agricultural community. It is a significant contribution to the literature on Indian economic history, one that no library should ignore.

Sir George Williams University MARTIN DEMING LEWIS

SELECTIONS FROM OCHTERLONY PAPERS (1818–1825) IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA. Edited by *Narendra Krishna Sinha* and *Arun Kumar Dasgupta*. ([Calcutta:] University of Calcutta. 1964. Pp. xxxviii, 489.)

BOSTON-BORN Sir David Ochterlony (1758–1825) went to India at the age of nineteen as a cadet in the Bengal Army. Thereafter, he served the British East India Company for forty-eight years as soldier and administrator. He is best known for his part in the defeat of the French in 1781, for his successful leadership in the Maratha war of 1803–1818, and for his role in the Hastings administration. The present publication records his correspondence from shortly before the time that he took over the Delhi residency from Metcalfe in 1818 until his retirement in 1825.

Professor Sinha is responsible for the selection of these papers for the University of Calcutta under the Indian Historical Records Commission plan for the publication of English records in the National Archives of India. The whole consists of 17 pages of introduction, summarizing the local politics of the period and Ochterlony's participation therein; 239 separate pieces of correspondence to and from the general; and historical notes on events in 11 different native states involved with Delhi.

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Seen from the perspective of nearly a century and a half, the arguments and disputes detailed in Ochterlony's correspondence convey a sense of meanness and futility. His bitter rivalry with Tod destroyed the effectiveness of that able officer, while his clash with Lord Amherst resulted in his own resignation and tragic death. The letters provide numerous examples of the difficulty of transmitting central policy through administrators in the field when the latter have strong personalities and face fluid and critical situations. While dramatic at the time, the intrigues serve now but to reveal the endless complexity of the legal and political structures and stresses that claimed the attention of company officers in early nineteenth-century India. This carefully edited selection is of particular interest to historians concerned with company operations and the problems of succession in the Rajput states.

Prescott College D. Mackenzie Brown

STUDIES IN INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA (1858–1914). By *Sunil Kumar Sen*. (Calcutta: Progressive Publishers. 1964. Pp. 192. Rs. 12.50.)

It continues to be a matter of disappointment that much of the excellent work by Indian scholars on aspects of their history is marred by the intrusion of their nationalist sentiments. This study of industrial policy and development in British India to World War I is a reconsideration of a central problem in Indian economic history using important new materials that are pinched into established exploitation categories. Sen reviews the significance of public facilities—railways, public works, and military—in laying the groundwork for India's industrial development and emphasizes the crucial policy issues arising from the supply of "stores" for these governmental services. The policy and rules with respect to whether stores should be purchased in England or India cover several industrial groups: coal, paper, wool, iron and steel, and engineering. Some of the units of these industries were state enterprises, and all were subject to some state control. Among the important aspects examined are: the role of managing agencies, the pressure of "home industries" (that is, British firms) in the Indian market, and the emergence of increasingly confident and competent Indian industrial spokesmen. Considering the degree and pattern of industrial development since 1914 and the great importance that has come to attach to industrial development since independence, it is disappointing to find the same old and tired exploitation questions being raised, however skillfully.

University of Minnesota Burton Stein

INDIA UNDER MORLEY AND MINTO: POLITICS BEHIND REVOLUTION, REPRESSION AND REFORMS. By *M. N. Das*. (London: George Allen and Unwin; distrib. by Hillary House, New York. 1964. Pp. 279. $7.50.)

With the recent opening of the private correspondence of Morley and Minto, the politics of the years from 1905 to 1910 in India are now receiving exhaustive study.

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This book is one of several recently published or soon to appear based largely on the correspondence of these two eminent imperial statesmen. Das surveys in turn the Indian political scene on Curzon's departure, the personalities of Morley and Minto, the political background in England, the various political movements of the time in India together with the British response, and the discussions that led to the reform scheme of 1909.

This is unfortunately a most disappointing book. Attracted by the availability of the Morley-Minto papers, Das has allowed them to set the bounds to his inquiry. He deals only with opinions, and with British opinions at that. There is no incisive analysis of the character of unrest or of the developments in the Congress movement during the period of his study. The nationalist leaders take on life only as reflected through the lenses of Morley and Minto. Yet, though British in its outlook, the book is at the same time permeated with the nationalist assumptions of contemporary India. The author accuses the British of pursuing a "divide and rule" policy toward the Muslims and insists that the Congress in 1905 represented the whole of India and all classes of the population. Such nationalist bias is common enough and can usually be discounted. Here, however, these shortcomings are aggravated by the stilted and cumbrous style in which the book is written. His prose is wordy and awkward, with much needless repetition of thoughts and ideas, so that it is often difficult to follow his line of argument. The author is at his best in discussing the negotiations behind the 1909 reform scheme, where the opinions of Morley and Minto counted for much, and chronology imposes a certain pattern of organization on the material. Elsewhere, however, he adds very little that is new or valuable to our knowledge of the politics of the Morley-Minto era.

University of California, Berkeley THOMAS R. METCALF

UNTEILBARE FREIHEIT: NEHRUS POLITIK DER SELBSTBESTIMMUNG. By *Wilhelm Wolfgang Schütz*. [Die deutsche Frage in der Welt, Number 3.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 77. DM 3.80.)

FROM the moment of India's independence in August 1947 to the moment of Jawaharlal Nehru's death in May 1964 he was the chief architect of his country's foreign policy. He was constantly probing for new solutions, especially in areas where India's vital interests were most directly involved. Thus in the spring of 1964 Nehru was pursuing the Himalayan border problem and especially relations with Pakistan, which raised high expectations in the subcontinent about a Kashmir solution. His view of India's role in world affairs was conditioned by the experience of the freedom movement, by India's needs as a developing nation, and by Nehru's own commitment to the democratic idea. It is this simple but nonetheless important proposition that Herr Schütz makes throughout this small volume of foreign policy essays. He touches on India's relations with Pakistan, China, the Soviet Union, the West, the Commonwealth, and Germany. Two essays examine the policy of nonalignment and Nehru's concept of freedom. It is in discussing the development and changes in Nehru's view of Germany and the question of reunification that this book has its greatest value. Nehru's first encounter with Germany came in 1909 when he visited there with his father. But it was the events

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of the 1930's and 1940's and subsequently the cold war that most strongly influenced his thinking in these matters. While Nehru felt that ultimately Germany would be reunited, in the divided world of the late 1940's and the 1950's, he maintained that a divided Germany simply reflected the realistic political conditions of the times. This view was subjected to pressures and changes, from Bonn, from Moscow, and indeed, in the building of the wall, from Berlin itself. Schütz argues that the most forceful pressure ultimately came from China in its 1962 invasion and the possibility this raised of a separate Chinese dominated state coming into existence within India's northern borders. It is from this point on that the author finds Nehru moving away from the idea of two Germanies and asserting the German right to self-determination and freedom.

While these essays are well written and show a wide understanding of Indian affairs, their brevity unfortunately imposes a severe limitation on their usefulness. They are introductory by nature, but because they are based on reminiscences of the author's meetings with Nehru over a period of thirty years, it is a fascinating introduction.

Patna, Bihar, India WALTER HAUSER

EAST TURKISTAN TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY: A BRIEF POLITICAL SURVEY. By *William Samolin*. [Central Asiatic Studies, Number 9.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 100. Glds. 18.)

THIS outline of political history covers the period from the rise of the Hsiung-nu (about 200 B.C.) to the coming of the Qara Qytay (Karakhitai) under Yeh-lü Ta-Shih in A.D. 1130, the time "during which the basic cultures of the two parts of the region acquired their characteristic forms." The process of Turkification of the basic Indo-European stock was also completed during these years.

The chief value of Dr. Samolin's book lies in its being based solidly on the Chinese standard dynastic histories with careful consideration for modern Western scholarship, including research based on archaeological finds. Every item among the events mentioned has been precisely documented, including Chinese characters for proper names. The book covers a vast field; it is carefully indexed and should serve as a useful reference guide to the history of Chinese Turkistan down to the twelfth century.

Among the historical details about Turkistan during this period, certain key points are particularly worth noting: Huntington's theory of cyclic dessication, shown to be invalid; the movement of successive Hunnic tribes toward the West; the new confederation of many tribes after the destruction of a nomadic state; the Han policy of occupation of the "Western Regions" as implemented and explained by Pan Yung, son of the general, Pan Ch'ao; nomad overlordship among the "Oasis States" of the second to the seventh century compared with the methods of control employed by the Chinese; T'ang conquests achieved by Turks in the service of the Empire; methods of T'ang administration; the Uyγurs (Uighurs) before and after the defeat of 840; the origins and Islamization of the Qarluq Qarakhanids.

Unfortunately many parts of this survey would be difficult to follow except for

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one already familiar with the history and the geography of the area. For example, "Hsiung-nu" and "Huns" are used interchangeably without any explanation, and unidentified references to "Yüeh-chih" are followed by a sudden, unexplained mention of the Kušans (Kushan). Although a small, clear map is included, it lacks any indication of many of the place names mentioned in the text.

Events in the history of Turkistan are briefly recounted in rapid succession without an integrating theme and with almost no interpretation. The volume ends without any summary or conclusion.

University of California, Berkeley WOODBRIDGE BINGHAM

THE MODERN HISTORY OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA. By *Geoffrey Wheeler*. [Asia—Africa Series of Modern Histories.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. xi, 272. $7.00.)

ACQUAINTING the general reader with the recent and contemporary history of Soviet Central Asia is the extremely difficult task of this book. Those areas that used to be known before the Bolshevik revolution as the Steppe region and Turkistan are inhabited by a dozen nationalities, each speaking a different language and possessing a peculiar culture of its own. Only two elements are common to all: Islam and Russian rule.

After a brief excursion into the more distant past, the author plunges into the nineteenth century, when Russia conquered and absorbed the khanates of Kokand, Khiva, and Bukhara, as well as Caspian lands, the home of the warlike Turkoman tribes. There follow chapters on the "Tsarist Administration of Central Asia," the "Revolution and the Civil War," the "Consolidation of Soviet Power," "Central Asia under Soviet Rule," and "The Culture of the Peoples of Central Asia." All along the way the author is forced to engage in a running battle with not one but several contradictory interpretations of Central Asiatic history promulgated at one time or another by Soviet scholars. Indeed making one's way through the historiographical debris left by the bitter arguments among various Soviet historical schools is in itself a formidable assignment. Yet it cannot be avoided if one is to clear the ground and reconstruct the past more or less objectively.

The book, though brief, contains much factual information on Soviet methods of governing the colonies, the economy of various regions, the gradual development in the last thirty years of national consciousness among the Uzbeks, the Tajiks, and other peoples of the area, and the impact of Russian cultures upon Islamic society.

Colonel Wheeler, who directs the Central Asian Research Center in London, has had years of experience in India and the Middle East, experience that has sharpened his perceptions of the past. Strange as it may seem, it takes a former British colonial officer to show some sympathy for and understanding of Russia's role in Turkistan.

What one learns from this book is that Russian imperialism in Central Asia has been, from the Russian point of view, a success. The ratio of Russians to the native population is increasing steadily; Russification proceeds fairly rapidly; the

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old Muslim culture still survives, but is being constantly and consciously undermined; separatism has been crushed and will not be allowed to raise its head. In a certain sense, the peoples of Central Asia have had no history in the last forty years. They have been acted upon, guided, educated, and forced into the Soviet world by Moscow. Whether the material benefits they have received compensate for lack of independence and the gradual loss of identity only they can decide.

Yale University F. KAZEMZADEH

INDONESIA. By *J. D. Legge.* [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

IF *Indonesia* is an indication of the shape of things to come in the new series "The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective," Professor Robin W. Winks, its general editor, deserves our congratulations and gratitude. Professor John D. Legge has written the first English essay on Indonesian history, or rather historiography, which students and teachers will find eminently useful. Its virtues are many, ranging from excellent organization to thorough bibliographic coverage and, by no means least, to crisp writing.

The amazing thing is that Legge's *Indonesia* is not only specifically written for the English reader, but indeed, almost in its entirety, is based on English-language works. Two decades ago, such an enterprise would have been impossible. For, with a few notable exceptions, including B. H. M. Vlekke's *Nusantara,* John S. Furnivall's *Netherlands India,* and Amry Vandenbosch's *The Dutch East Indies,* those unable to read Dutch could not hope to come to grips with some of the major problems of Indonesian history. In the meantime, as the author acknowledges, "the center of Indonesian studies has shifted . . . from the Netherlands to the United States." Not only have Americans, Australians, and others started to write on Indonesia in English; our Dutch colleagues, still unrivaled for their intimate *expertise,* have increasingly come to our aid by either writing in impeccable English (for example, W. F. Wertheim's brilliant *Indonesian Society in Transition,* already in its second edition), or by their concerted efforts, handsomely aided by the Netherlands Foundation for Pure Research, to make some of the most important Dutch writings on Indonesia, including key works by J. C. van Leur, B. Schrieke, and J. H. Boeke, available to a wide readership in flawlessly produced English translations. The literature available to Legge has thus come to assume quite respectable proportions. Let there be no mistake: research in depth on Indonesian history will, forever, continue to depend on mastery of Dutch, and it will increasingly come to depend, too, on mastery of *Bahasa Indonesia,* in which a growing number of significant monographs are being published. But what Legge has amply and deftly demonstrated is that the first sophisticated steps in the study of Indonesian history can be taken by readers limited to English (and French).

Legge commences with a brief introductory chapter entitled "Unity in Diversity" (the motto on the Indonesian Republic's coat of arms) which presents the historical roots of some of the major problems besetting the new state; at the end

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of the volume, the author returns to a more detailed, perceptive analysis of contemporary Indonesia. In between, there are five chapters spanning Indonesian history from the early "Hinduized" kingdoms, through the influence of Islam, the early European presence, and the era of the new imperialism in the Indies (1870–1942), followed by a study of Indonesian nationalism under Dutch and Japanese rule, and since independence. In terms of periodization, Legge has not attempted anything startlingly new. But he has brought judicious judgment to bear on the major questions that historians, and social scientists as well, have raised in relation to such "watersheds" in the complex history of this enormously complex country as the intensity of "Hinduization," the extent of Islamization, the varying significance of the European element since the seventeenth century, and others. Not unexpectedly, Legge, himself the author of a monograph on decentralization in contemporary Indonesia, writes with the greatest intimacy on the modern era, even though the chapter on nationalism is curiously unsatisfying. But *Indonesia* can serve as an admirable introduction to the long and fascinating sweep of Indonesian history; the academic neophyte will find it exciting and stimulating, and the casual reader, having accidentally bought the book in a cold war mood, will very likely emerge chastened and sobered.

Yale University HARRY J. BENDA

BANDUNG IN THE EARLY REVOLUTION, 1945–1946: A STUDY IN SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION. By *John R. W. Smail.* [Monograph Series.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Modern Indonesia Project, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University. 1964. Pp. xi, 169. $3.50.)

LOCAL history is a well-developed branch of the historical profession in the Western world. It is, however, rare in Asia and almost unique in Southeast Asia where, in fact, there is a paucity of historians of all types. Professor John Smail's work in Indonesian local history is, therefore, unusual to say the least. It is a result of his association with Cornell University's work on modern Indonesia. Here, scholars in many disciplines have sought information and insight on the world's sixth most populous nation.

Many books have been written about the Indonesian National Revolution. Most of them have dealt with the broad outlines of the struggle, the policies of the chief protagonists and the leaders on both sides. Smail's is the first attempt to see the Revolution from a local vantage point: the city of Bandung and the surrounding rural area. Bandung is not typical of Indonesian cities. Its population is mainly Sundanese, and it has for decades been a center for important Dutch and Chinese minorities. Bandung residents probably possess a higher level of education and sophistication than most Indonesian urban dwellers.

Smail deals with a very short period in the Revolution, from September 1945 through March 1946. His theme is the struggle between those who favored *diplomasi* or negotiation and those who advocated *perdjuangan* or struggle in dealing with the Dutch. *Diplomasi* prevailed over *perdjuangan* but not before there was much of the latter. Indeed, Smail describes a state of anarchy or near anarchy in Bandung throughout most of the period. In these circumstances, important

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changes occurred in the roles of different social groups. None of the traditional or even moderate republican leaders were able to maintain control after a few weeks in September and October. Revolutionary leadership passed to the *pemudas* or youthful activists. The old social order was radically altered, and the emergence of new social classes and institutions was stimulated. Smail contends that the most important social changes in the Indonesian Revolution occurred in the late months of 1945 and early months of 1946, for developments in Bandung, he says, were paralleled elsewhere.

Smail concludes that study of the Revolution at the national level has tended to make the writing of the social history of the Revolution difficult. The observation is probably valid. But one might hope that if others will give attention to local history a comprehensive social history of the Indonesian National Revolution may someday be possible. Smail strives to set his work in broader frameworks. It may not be too much to say that he is relating or attempting to relate his work to universal history. If he sometimes seems to falter, it is not because he lacks the capacity but rather because the task is large. The book is good, a definite contribution. Hopefully, it presages more Indonesian social history from Smail.

Northern Illinois University J. Norman Parmer

AUSTRALIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Trevor R. Reese*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. 239. $6.00.)

Australians are no longer a remote community of overseas Britons, living on the proceeds of the peerless Merino fleece and insulated from the harsher realities of the world by the Royal Navy. As the Western nation nearest resurgent Asia, and as one of the major recipients of European emigrants, Australia has acquired a special importance, reflected in an increased outside interest in its current policies and recent history. Brian Fitzpatrick's subjective, uneven, though in places brilliant, social commentary, *The Australian Commonwealth, 1901–1955* (1956), was for some years the only book-length study available of the nation's development in this century. Since Fitzpatrick's essays were written for an Australian audience, the first satisfactory introduction into twentieth-century Australian history for most overseas readers was the third of C. Hartley Grattan's *The Southwest Pacific since 1900* (1963) that was devoted to this theme.

Thus, a new book promising to survey the political history of *Australia in the Twentieth Century* would seem to fill a real need. The titles of two early, retrospective chapters, "The Aborigines (1788–1940)" and "A Colonial Power (1888–1940)," the latter dealing with Papua and the New Guinea mandate, whetted my anticipation. These topics are too often neglected by Australian historians. The over-all impression of the work, however, is disappointing. Despite his six years' sojourn in Australia prior to 1962, the British-born Trevor R. Reese does not seem to have acquired an appreciation of the nuances of Australian politics comparable to that displayed by the American, Grattan. This shortcoming is illustrated, for instance, in his superficial treatment of the events that led up to the dismissal of Premier J. T. Lang of New South Wales by Governor Sir Philip Game in 1932.

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He gives only the most general indication of the nature of Lang's dispute with the federal authority, and no indication of its political and constitutional repercussions elsewhere in the state and in the federation. As elsewhere in the book, his account overlooks the tensions of the period. His failure to mention the adoption, in 1918, of the alternative vote in federal general elections beclouds his discussion of the role of the Country party, and of later splinter groups from the Labor party, for an overseas reader who might assume that the simple plurality system of election was being followed.

This is a useful summary of Australia's past politics, but it could have been better. The Australians have a grade for such produce: f.a.q. (fair average quality).

University of Waterloo K. A. MacKirdy

NEW ZEALAND. By *William J. Cameron*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. x, 180. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

NEW ZEALAND ASPIRATIONS IN THE PACIFIC IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Angus Ross*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 332. $7.20.)

By producing these two books the authors have, in very different ways, enlarged the areas of understanding of New Zealand. The book by Professor Cameron, who is not a historian, is the livelier of the two, "an extended personal essay" on the developing Anglo-Polynesian subculture. His knowledgeable analysis of national character and directions (done well and perhaps too often among Australian historians) is less usual among the scholars of New Zealand and is drawn from creative writings, from the corpus of historical works, and from a wide variety of private and public sources. The most important sections include "The National Character," "Regionalism," "Maoritanga, the Way of the Maoris," and "The Omnipresent State."

Tired generalizations about New Zealand are deftly dissected. Cameron writes with authority of a nation burdened by its heritage of British middle-class values, but also illuminated by British conscience and humanity, and notes the overuse of government and of alcohol and the emergence of the only national aristocracy, the physical elite. The important role of the Scots is placed in perspective to other groups' contributions. This is a rural nation still, and the significance of the Merino, the Shorthorn, scientific refrigeration, and the use of phosphatic fertilizers (accounting for New Zealand's special interest in the Nauru and Ocean Islands) are ably explained. The author reveals an appreciative judgment on the Maori, and his comments on Maori-pakeha relations are both optimistic and objective. New Zealand's welfare state, he notes, suffers from complacency, the end phases of an age of pioneer materialism, which might become in time "Suburbs of Hell," but the author thinks not. Spiritual pioneering, a vigorous political participation, and educational growth bode well.

Professor Ross, in contrast, has written in depth of New Zealand's "sub-imperialistic" territorial ambitions in the Pacific from the first days of British settle-

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ment to the times of Richard Seddon. It is clear writing, based on thorough research in the PRO, the New Zealand National Archives, and in special collections.

This is in that area of limited foreign or imperial policy that is almost unique to the British self-governing colonies of the nineteenth century. There are suggestions of a national destiny even in the 1850's, and Sir George Grey (as British governor) and Bishop Selwyn gave vigorous leadership to an early concern for the security of the Pacific Islands area. The activities of the French, viewed calmly in London, were watched uneasily from Auckland. When, by a careless error, Captain Hobson claimed British sovereignty up to 34°30′ north latitude the claim, although corrected later, remained the basis for Selwyn's administrative realm for years.

After a lull in the 1860's, Julius Vogel and the aged Sir George Grey (back as a New Zealand legislator and then Premier) combined in advocating vigorous expansion into the islands. The French convicts in New Caledonia, the lawlessness in the islands, the "kanaka" labor traffic, the concern for the future of island peoples, Empire defense considerations, and the growth of German activities in the early 1880's kept New Zealand's leadership interested in the Pacific, even though the New Zealanders did not join the Australian Federal Council in 1883. Seddon's imperial interests represented the widest-ranging and also the culminating policy, actively anti-French, and even anti-American. The emphasis was on annexation rather than protectorates, and opposition toward joint administrations such as in the New Hebrides or divisions of the spoils as in Samoa.

New Zealand aspirations were motivated by ardent missionaries, by commercial interest, and by strategy or security, and there was a sincere interest in protecting island people. New Zealand policy usually showed analogies with that of the Australian colonies, but occasionally they clashed as in 1901 when New Zealand unsuccessfully attempted to establish its own confederation by union with Fiji.

By the time Seddon had died, most of the islands had been claimed, and the problem of competently administering them became immediate.

Colgate University CHARLES S. BLACKTON

Americas

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 1150. $12.50.)

BERNARD Berenson once advised Professor Morison that, should he write a history of the United States, it be done in one sitting. No book of this length could be thus written, but this fine work has all the verve and dramatic flow that Berenson felt would be lost in a task long drawn out.

In the main it is a "sunny" history. America is a success story, though laments about past mistakes and warnings about pitfalls ahead abound. It is written for the eye, with brilliant personal characterizations. Morison makes the reader see the setting of great events; his descriptive power recalls Francis Parkman. The book is also written for the ear, with snatches of old songs ending each chapter.

As in Theodore Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* there are propaganda and

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"presentism" in the writing, though the scholarship is superior. Centuries are spanned to tie up the present with the past. A good anecdote gets more space, perhaps, than it should, but the reader is carried along. Written, says Morison, for his "fellow citizens to read and enjoy," the book is at its best when dealing with material lending itself to dramatic treatment: war, politics, and the sea. As in his earlier works Morison is lyrical when writing about clipper ships. Other matters are not neglected. Social and cultural history is given adequate space, though immigration is skimped.

Unlike some historians who pass rather quickly over the colonial period, Morison gives careful attention to those years. English colonization gets higher marks than are awarded to rival empires. England's legacy in the establishment of America's basic institutions is heavily emphasized.

Misery and death during King Philip's War appear starkly in these pages. The story of the Revolution (an eastern, not a western movement, says Morison in answering Alvord) is especially spirited, with Cornwallis' surrender described in fascinating detail. The reader is never allowed to forget the role of sea power in American history. There is much detail on the mechanics of warfare, details that almost never get into general histories.

The postrevolutionary years, often termed depressing, here become "The Creative Period" in commerce, the arts, and politics. The scales are held fairly even between Jefferson and Hamilton. As for Washington, the judgment is that his "services in time of peace have never been adequately appreciated."

The Empire State in the Jacksonian era was the "Citadel of Democracy," with Van Buren originating its triumphant political techniques: "he may be considered the principal architect of the modern American political party." But Morison is not enamored of that democracy. As for the Civil War, slavery was its cause. Reconstruction as seen by Stampp and Vann Woodward is endorsed by Morison who believes its ill effects have been exaggerated. "Poor white trash" are mainly blamed for its evils.

Reaching the twentieth century "The Great Change" that came in American life after 1900 is attributed to the internal combustion engine. Highest praise for the Presidents of the past sixty years goes to FDR. The book ends tenderly, with Kennedy's death.

Morison celebrates the virtues of the patrician whose flaws are more gently handled than are those of more "lowly" men. With a patrician slant the tendency is to emphasize the role of personalities and to minimize or deny the significance of economic factors in history. Though the author is on the "liberal" side politically, much of his history has the flavor of conservatism. Can memories be so short as to allow the remark that "no Christian government could be merciless"?

Weaknesses are few, strengths many in this very personal book. It does not offer much that is new to the professional historian (for whom it is not intended), except the joy of reading an erudite, buoyant work, filled with rueful reflections on past errors and charged with hopes for the future.

City College of New York MICHAEL KRAUS

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AMERICAN STATE ARCHIVES. By *Ernst Posner*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 397. $7.50.)

THE purpose of this review is to bring to the attention of students of American history an exceedingly important and well-written book which, for the first time, presents a comprehensive, authoritative, and critical study of the archival and record agencies of all the states and of Puerto Rico. It is not a guide to the historical holdings of such agencies; it deals with their historical functions and activities.

This study was sponsored by the Society of American Archivists and was supported by a generous grant from the Council on Library Resources. The purpose of the study was stated substantially as follows: to determine the status of archival arrangements in each state; to measure their attainments against realistic standards; to convince officials of the necessity of appropriate action; and to contribute to the standardization of archival work throughout the nation and to the maturation of the archival profession.

The director of the project and the author of the report, Dr. Ernst Posner, was formerly state archivist and professor of archival science and history in Berlin. He came to the United States in 1939, and he has been a leader in the education and training of archivists and custodians of public records.

The report is divided into an introduction, which describes the background, objectives, and methods of the study, and four chapters plus appendixes and a bibliography. The first chapter furnishes general background in the form of a concise history of the genesis and evolution of American state archives from colonial times to the present. The second chapter contains the fifty-one state reports in alphabetical order. Each of these is based in part upon earlier accumulations of data and information but especially upon the results of personal visits and examinations by Posner. The reports are comprehensive, authoritative, and revealing, and each is concluded by a paragraph of comments, criticisms, and recommendations. The reports deal with such matters as legislation, the status of the agency in the state government, and its relations with other branches; its organization, administration, responsibilities, functions, and operation; and its budget, personnel, housing, and equipment. Such reports should be of great value to persons contemplating research in the holdings of a state agency.

The third chapter, a summary of findings, should be read by all who have any interest in state or local history. It reveals the many differences from state to state in legislation relating to archival agencies, in the character of the latter, their status, organization, administration, functions, and operation. It is noted that three states have no archival agency, that in some it is the Secretary of State or a branch of the state government, that in others it is the state library, while in still others the state historical society. Some agencies are in the form of departments of archives and history, and others are specialized commissions.

In most states the budgets of archival agencies are too small and the salaries are insufficient to attract and hold higher personnel. There is also a severe and chronic shortage of trained personnel, for we have no schools for archivists as we have for librarians. It is also necessary to clarify much legislation for a better description of archival organization, functions, and authority, especially with respect to record management, publications, and historical services in general.

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The fourth chapter is devoted to the publication of classified standards for state archival agencies. It is against this definition of standards that the organization and operations of state agencies have been measured and their weaknesses revealed. In the last two chapters, on "Findings" and "Standards," is found the solid foundation of a platform and campaign for remedies and improvements.

The appendixes are worthy of note. The first is a selected glossary of terms, for, like all specialists, the archivists are using words and expressions that have to be explained to plain historians. Two appendixes are concerned with budgets and salaries, while the fourth is a table of the holdings of records, in cubic feet or volumes, of the different states. In some cases these are less than impressive and suggest that the archival agency has not yet brought into its control more than a small part of the total records of the state.

Finally, there is a very useful basic bibliography of "Writings on Public Archives Administration" in the United States.

I hope that this short notice will attract historians to the book. I have found it exceedingly interesting reading, and it is devoted to a noble cause.

Washington, D. C. WALDO GIFFORD LELAND

THE DREAM OF PROSPERITY IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *Louis B. Wright.* [Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History.] ([New York:] New York University Press. 1965. Pp. 96. $3.50.)

DR. Wright's book consists of the four lectures that he gave at New York University. The author emphasizes primarily ideas—myths, beliefs, promoters' colorful visions, plans of corporations and of nations—that spurred to action or guided explorers, colonizers, traders, speculators, and others whose thoughts and desires turned to North America. The narrative begins in the fifteenth century and carries on through the eighteenth.

As Europe emerged from the Middle Ages, the myth of a Garden of Eden somewhere on earth persisted. The gradual realization that Columbus had discovered a strange and exciting new world led to the idea that the garden or its counterpart might be found in America. The author discusses the literature of the myth as it affected the thought of Columbus and others. He notes Raleigh's location of the garden in Asia (in his *History*) and his belief that an American replica would be found on the same parallel. The chapter surveys the literature of romances with their stories of a magical well of life—important for that excellent colonial governor, Ponce de León. Wright recounts the legend of El Dorado, the Indian king who rolled in gold dust and then washed it off every night in a sacred spring. Where was that spring?

The title of Chapter II suggests its contents: "The Lure of Fish, Furs, Wine and Silk." In his third chapter the author describes the contents of a medical treatise published by a Spaniard, Nicholás Monardes, in 1571 and translated into English by John Frampton in 1577. It contained a long list of herbal and other products of the American environment and pointed out the curative powers of each. In addition to influencing the European pharmacopoeia, it spurred the searches of explorers and colonists in the New World. This chapter concludes

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with a discussion of the literature of the medicinal properties and uses of tobacco. The final chapter, "The Continuing Dream of an Economic Utopia," concerns itself with variations on the theme of an American cornucopia, which took form in the era of the English colonies.

The book takes account of the most recent scholarship bearing on its many topics. It provides a useful balance to the recent, thorough study of the importance of religious faith and purpose for American colonization. The footnotes contain the bibliography.

American University RALPH H. GABRIEL

THE VALLEY OF THE SIX NATIONS: A COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS ON THE INDIAN LANDS OF THE GRAND RIVER. Edited with an introduction by *Charles M. Johnston.* [Ontario Series, Volume VII.] ([Toronto:] University Press; the Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario. 1964. Pp. xcvi, 344. $5.00.)

MUCH more comprehensive than the title implies, this work opens with the earliest accounts of the Grand River Valley, the first being a 1627 letter of Father Joseph de La Roche Daillon, and an account of the life of the Six Nations in northern New York. It then covers the exodus to the Grand River; the problem of land title; the coming of the white man, white encroachment, and "the confused history of the alienation of the Indian lands on the Grand River"; the Six Nations in the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837; "Christianity in the Longhouse"; and "A Stock-taking." Most of the documents are dated between 1783 and 1840.

Professor Johnston of McMaster University has performed a useful service for scholars by bringing together relevant documents from every likely, and in some cases obscure, depository in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. His introduction leads well to the documents that follow. The unhappy conclusion of the editor is that in spite of the ideas formulated and the sincere efforts made by many diverse personalities and in spite of more than fifty years of experimentation "the fond hopes voiced for the Six Nations' future in the months following Haldimand's award of October 1784, were far from redeemed. Distractions, greed, ignorance, retrenchment, and the almost insatiable demands of the white man's world foiled many a plan of improvement even before it had been applied."

The editorial treatment is complete. The maps are adequate and the illustrations interesting. The index is good. Altogether it is difficult to see how the editor could have done more. This work, which should appeal to the intelligent general reader and scholar alike, compares favorably with the best of its six predecessors in the series. The strong red buckram binding, good paper, clear print, and high level of content, all in the best Champlain Society tradition, and the low price, thanks to the provincial subvention, all combine to make this book a "best buy."

University of Western Ontario JAMES J. TALMAN

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THE ARTS IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY. AN ESSAY. By *Walter Muir Whitehill.* A Bibliography by *Wendell D. Garrett* and *Jane N. Garrett.* [Needs and Opportunities for Study Series.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1965. Pp. xv, 170. $4.50.)

Mr. Whitehill's introductory essay is an admirable summary of the present situation in a field that has been largely neglected by academic historians of art. He reminds us that "when early American arts are viewed as elements in the society that created them, they become of major importance. The work of a seventeenth-century Boston painter, considered as part of the life of colonial New England, may prove a more stimulating field for study than the altarpiece of an obscure follower of Giotto." Having noted such signs of progress as the Historic American Buildings Survey, the Archives of American Art, and the programs of Winterthur, he points out the many opportunities for research and publication through the joint efforts of social and economic historians, archaeologists, museum curators, and historical societies. His essay closes with a warning of certain "booby traps" that await the student in search of visual material to illustrate American history, and he outlines scholarly standards for the critical examination of that material.

The bibliography limits itself to basic writings on the period from the Centennial year to 1826. It records the most important results of a scholarly concern that, as the authors point out, has in the past four decades replaced the insularity and frequent inaccuracy of those amateurs, genealogists, and antiquarians, the "gentlemen-historians" of an earlier period. A field of study once regarded with condescension by professional scholars is now being explored by a large and competent group of professionals; the results are here listed under headings that indicate the scope of the enterprise: "Topography," "Painting," "Sculpture," "Medals," "Crafts," "Furniture," "Silver," "Pewter," "Pottery," "Glass," "Lighting Devices," "Wall Decoration," "Folk Art," and "Textiles." The obvious gaps in this bibliography, as Wendell and Jane Garrett note, indicate the areas that future students will explore. Each published work is succinctly summarized by the Garretts, whose shrewd comments distinguish between the unreliable and the dependable, between Martha Amory's book in 1882 on Copley, for example, which the compilers call a "long, rambling work of filiopietism," and the sound study of Copley's American work by Barbara Parker and Ann Wheeler of 1938.

That old cliché "indispensable" must be applied to a book that justly summarizes what has been done and that invites further research in a rich field, much of which remains terra incognita.

Smith College Oliver W. Larkin

ARCHITECTURE IN NEW JERSEY: A RECORD OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION. By *Alan Gowans.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume VI.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 161. $3.95.)

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN NEW JERSEY: A HISTORY. By *Roscoe*

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L. West. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume VII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xii, 135. $3.95.)

THE NEW JERSEY HIGH SCHOOL: A HISTORY. By *Robert D. Bole* and *Laurence B. Johnson.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume VIII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 174. $3.95.)

THE NEW JERSEY PROPRIETORS AND THEIR LANDS, 1664–1776. By *John E. Pomfret.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume IX.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xviii, 135. $3.95.)

THE EARLY DUTCH AND SWEDISH SETTLERS OF NEW JERSEY. By *Adrian C. Leiby.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume X.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiv, 139. $3.95.)

NEW JERSEY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. By *Alfred Hoyt Bill.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XI.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 117. $3.95.)

RADICALS AND VISIONARIES: A HISTORY OF DISSENT IN NEW JERSEY. By *Morris Schonbach.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 125. $3.95.)

RELIGION IN NEW JERSEY: A BRIEF HISTORY. By *Wallace N. Jamison.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XIII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 183. $3.95.)

THE NEW JERSEY GOVERNOR: A STUDY IN POLITICAL POWER. By *Duane Lockard.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XIV.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 153. $3.95.)

THE RESEARCH STATE: A HISTORY OF SCIENCE IN NEW JERSEY. By *John R. Pierce* and *Arthur G. Tressler.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XV.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 167. $3.95.)

MEDICINE AND HEALTH IN NEW JERSEY: A HISTORY. By *David L. Cowen.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XVI.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 229. $3.95.)

FUNDAMENTAL LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONS OF NEW JERSEY, 1664–1964. Edited with introduction by *Julian P. Boyd.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XVII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 257. $3.95.)

HISTORIC NEW JERSEY THROUGH VISITORS' EYES. By *Miriam V. Studley.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XVIII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 213. $3.95.)

THE GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY OF NEW JERSEY. By *Kemble Widmer.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XIX.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 193. $3.95.)

THE LITERARY HERITAGE OF NEW JERSEY. By *Laurence B. Holland et al.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XX.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 131. $3.95.)

A NARRATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEW JERSEY. By *Nelson R. Burr.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XXI.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xxii, 266. $3.95.)

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WHERE CITIES MEET: THE URBANIZATION OF NEW JERSEY. By *John E. Bebout* and *Ronald J. Grele*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XXII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 129. $3.95.)

NEW JERSEY IN THE AUTOMOBILE AGE: A HISTORY OF TRANSPORTATION. By *H. Jerome Cranmer*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XXIII.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiii, 139. $3.95.)

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE IN NEW JERSEY. By *William H. Gerdts, Jr.* [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XXIV.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xix, 276. $3.95.)

THE DECORATIVE ARTS OF EARLY NEW JERSEY. By *Margaret E. White*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XXV.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xiv, 137. $3.95.)

LIFE IN EARLY NEW JERSEY. By *Harry B. Weiss*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Volume XXVI.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1964. Pp. xi, 169. $3.95.)

BANKING AND INSURANCE IN NEW JERSEY: A HISTORY. By *Bruce H. French*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xiii, 114. $3.95.)

It is safe to say that there is no consensus on how to write the history of the states in the United States. They are units within a great federal system that is cultural as well as political. Each cell of the larger organism has a dual history for it has not developed independently; each has been influenced by the development of the whole of which it is a part. The historian of any state has to deal therefore with a cultural complex in which the culture in question is somewhat less than autonomous, in some cases it is older, as in New Jersey, than the whole of which it is a part, and, finally, in American historiography it has been neglected and overshadowed by a general national history written without any particular regard for the internal evolution of the separate units. The projectors of this series have resorted to a method largely of their own creation that might be called "multiple impressionism." This method has been invited by the fragmentation made necessary by their decision to present the theme in so many small and convenient volumes.

The series emphasizes the colonial experience and the environment of the New World as the matrices shaping the significant ecological and cultural determinants. The original society was established in a wilderness very sparsely inhabited by aboriginal tribes in a low state of culture. This European migration located itself on a relatively flat plain between two great rivers, though with enough highland in the northern sector to provide an extensive geological variety. By a historical accident the colony was divided into East and West Jersey with the result that two societies with contrasting population components were present from the beginning. The colony itself had no ports or significant metropolitan ventures in its early history, but East Jersey was adjacent to New York and West Jersey to Philadelphia. Its location midway along the Atlantic Coast meant that it

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was in the beginning and has been ever since a thoroughfare for those journeying by land, for practically all travelers and freight carriers that employ surface transportation cross this area. Traffic over the railroads and highways has become the heaviest in the United States.

New Jersey's proximity to the two great business centers, New York and Philadelphia, has meant that hordes of its inhabitants go to these metropolitan centers every day to do their work and then retreat to New Jersey at nightfall and over weekends. Another controlling sociological characteristic has been the fact that the community, originally agricultural, has become 86 per cent urban, helped on by industrialization, communication, the growth of scientific research, invention, and education, and the great increase in suburban communities. It is now "the most urban state in the world's most highly developed urban industrial nation."

Because of these situations, the image that New Jersey presents can be suggested by some of its nicknames. It has been described as a "keg tapped at both ends," as "the corridor state," "the doormat state," "the bedroom state," "the dormitory state," "the state with two faces," "the Garden State" to suggest suburbanity, "the Slave of Two Cities," and "the City of New Jersey." It is a state of a divided life, cultural, economic, and political; of a divided allegiance shall we say? This has been true since the days of the division between two proprietors. The dynamics of modern existence have done much to mitigate this division, but it still dominates most phases of the state's behavior. New Jersey's achievements have been great, but they would have been greater perhaps had there not been this dependence on New York and Philadelphia.

These convenient volumes have been written by well-qualified authors, historians, teachers, librarians, scientists, professional writers, and museum directors discussing so many facets of this complex, almost schizophrenic, evolution. Those who read them will perceive the state's real image, even though from the technical point of view the coverage is not complete. It is gratuitous to point out the obvious, namely, that there is less than might be expected of the economic, that strangely enough the political analysis is not complete, that journalism and many phases of organized community behavior and responsible action have not been given much attention. The strength of the series is that it accurately suggests the wide spectrum of the culture.

This unusual venture is a success, though no one will find everything in it that he wants. But he will find New Jersey, and that is what he should be looking for. May we hope that the state will find the enthusiasm, the will, and the means to continue the venture and that a state historian and a permanent state historical commission be created to carry on the work. Congratulations are in order to Governor Hughes, the Tercentenary Commission, the editors, Huber and Lane, the authors, and the publisher. By what magic all these people could be motivated, led, or driven to get their work done on time, I suppose will ever remain a secret. History would be the wiser if it could be revealed. There should be a summary volume.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

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PINE TREES AND POLITICS: THE NAVAL STORES AND FOREST POLICY IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND, 1691–1775. By *Joseph J. Malone.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 219. $5.00.)

THE title *Pine Trees and Politics* naturally conjures up thought of the "broad arrow" in the American colonies and the British Navy's pretensions to priority in the exploitation of New England forest resources; inevitably, R. G. Albion's *Forests and Sea Power* comes to mind. The last two-thirds of this small book treats the problem of conserving American trees in greater detail than has been accorded before to the period 1691–1775, on which the author chose to concentrate. To supplement his work in British Admiralty and Colonial Office papers, Malone drew on materials published in England and America, including the publications of American state historical societies, accumulated since Albion published his work about forty years ago. These published materials helped to balance the fact that the author worked only on the English side of the water.

After a brief introduction, Malone offers a chapter on naval stores and New England trade, 1705–1775. He describes the manufacture of pitch, tar, and turpentine taken from the pine of the Carolinas, and the traffic in such commodities that was largely controlled and carried on via New England. Then, in several chapters, he deals with the "All important mast trade" and the men associated with it. Using many of the same papers Albion used, Malone is able for his shorter period to offer detail on the interplay of interest groups in the colonies and England, especially the lumbering interests that opposed the navy's attempts to conserve accessible masting trees. He is at special pains to make both colonial and English interests clear. Jonathan Bridger, David Dunbar, Joseph Dudley, and the Wentworths are subjects of much discussion, not necessarily sympathetic. At times the reader gets out into the forests and meets the culprits, mostly millmen or their agents, and learns the fate they suffered, or were able to evade in the courts. A long chapter is given to the "woodland rebellion" in North America between 1720 and 1743, as seen by the Board of Trade. The difficulties and faults of the board and its policies are implicitly and explicitly revealed. Concluding the work are several appendixes printing clauses from licenses and mast contracts, directions for making tar in the "Finnish fashion," and charts showing various prices paid (or offered) in contracts for tar, masts, and spars. Maps are included as endpieces showing detail of the New England coast and the pine exploitation regions between Portsmouth and Penobscot Bay. Malone's work is an interesting and useful addition to the literature, a successful attempt to offer a new and balanced treatment of the subject.

University of Minnesota P. W. BAMFORD

GEORGE WASHINGTON: THE VIRGINIA PERIOD, 1732–1775. By *Bernhard Knollenberg.* (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 238. $4.50.)

THIS volume, half text and half footnote documentation, is a straightforward appraisal of Washington's early life and career. Each of the seventeen chapters is principally devoted to individual problems: Washington's mission to Fort Le

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Boeuf; the ownership of Mount Vernon; Washington's part in the Braddock expedition; the love letter to Sally Fairfax; and similar episodes in which scholars have frequently been in dispute. As a result, the organization is topical within a flexible chronological frame.

Knollenberg can seldom be faulted on his discriminating evaluation of the evidence. In those few cases in which he fails to be fully persuasive, his conclusions warrant serious consideration. His judgment that everyone is wrong in believing that little love was lost between Washington and his mother allows room for doubt, but his evidence on the Sally Fairfax letter and Washington's bounty land claims, to mention only two examples, appears beyond challenge.

Because of its clarity and its quality, Knollenberg's book will be a standard reference for all writers who wish to convey the truth of Washington's early life. It is also a pleasure to read of Washington without having to wade through reams of miscellaneous and irrelevant detail.

Northwestern University CLARENCE L. VER STEEG

DAVID RITTENHOUSE. By *Brooke Hindle.* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 394. $8.50.)

"I care not a farthing for anything but sober Certainty in Philosophy." The words belonged to Rittenhouse, but they fit this impressive biography as well. Rittenhouse was the outstanding astronomer in North America from about 1765 to 1795, and also a famous instrument- and clockmaker. Just when his scientific career hit its stride, however, the American Revolution interrupted it. Rittenhouse was immediately chosen for a succession of important offices in the rebel cause, not, Professor Hindle explains, because of his talents in the political field, but because of his immense prestige as a scientist. For the rest of his life Rittenhouse was never able to free himself from public service. But he had no genius for the political world; intellectually gifted though he was, Rittenhouse was too fastidious in mind and too unyielding in character. And so in the end he contributed little of enduring value to either science or the arts. This ultimate failure may be blamed on his cultural isolation in the American desert; on his being swamped by the demands of the Revolution; and on his personality, too inflexible for the crude science of human affairs.

This biography is also inflexible: a strictly chronological, soberly factual study based on meticulous research. Hindle as a historian of science—he published *Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (1956)—describes the early scientific achievements of Rittenhouse with warmth and judgment; the description of his observations of the transit of Venus in 1769 is particularly fine. But then come the scientifically barren years of the Revolution and its aftermath. Hindle presents his subject's political assignments with a detail that soon becomes oppressive; he stood at the center of one of the world's great political upheavals without uttering a single word of vision or insight. These chapters are as wearisome as the corresponding years of his life.

As biographer, Hindle rarely speculates, never straying from the record. As a result this biography carries an authority that far surpasses the few earlier lives

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and special studies. More than that, it achieves a very solid artistic integrity. It does not describe Rittenhouse; it re-creates him. The personality we have here is, of course, Hindle's creation. Yet the job is done with such thoroughness, such detachment, such method, that one cannot but feel that this is indeed the real Rittenhouse.

University of Texas MICHAEL G. HALL

THE LAST YEARS OF SPANISH TEXAS, 1778–1821. By *Odie B. Faulk*. [Studies in American History, Number 4.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 156. Glds. 20.)

THERE is a vast disparity between the launching of a romantic and successful program and its sad and dismal end. In the sixteenth century Spain conquered half of the New World, established its culture throughout most of it, and gave up this dominant position very slowly. When this movement began, Spain was at the height of empire building; three centuries later, thrown back on its heels in Europe, it was on the defensive everywhere. This was exemplified in the Americas, especially on the frontiers, such as in Texas and California.

This book is essentially a factual record of the death throes of one of these distant outposts—Texas—on which Spain had maintained a precarious hold during most of its history as a European province. After a short survey of its founding, the author devotes himself to the last forty years of Texas history, down to Mexican independence in 1821. Proceeding in a topical manner, he discusses "Political Administration," "Military Life and Policies," "Indian Relations," "Missions and Religious Life," "Economic Life," "Social and Cultural History," "Penetration of Foreigners and Foreign Ideas," and "Revolt, Filibusters, and Revolution."

On the whole, this story is not new, but the author has uncovered enough documentation in various archives to add detail to this last chapter of Texas history under Spanish rule. Division of the subject into special topics will simplify the student's task. There are also a useful bibliography and index.

University of California, Berkeley GEORGE P. HAMMOND

SLAVERY AND JEFFERSONIAN VIRGINIA. By *Robert McColley*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964. Pp. 227. $5.00.)

ROBERT McColley's award-winning first book illuminates and perplexes on every page. McColley demonstrates that, contrary to widespread belief, slavery was not dying in Virginia during the early national period. In so doing, he provides commendable discussions of slavery, society, and politics. Chapters I, III, IV, and V offer a better introduction to slavery in Virginia than we have had; Chapters II, VI, VII, and VIII offer instructive surveys of social attitudes and policies.

I am not sure that McColley has not played a wonderful joke at our expense, for nothing in the book directly tests the social or economic viability of slavery. His whole argument could be stated in one sentence: there is no evidence of impending extinction. He might have elaborated on that sentence in a short article, but had he done so, he would have deprived us of some valuable, if uneven, essays.

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The essays describe a society at the foundation of which was the relationship of master to slave and astride which was a ruling class of slaveholders. McColley shows that no economic threat sufficient to topple this class existed. His positive demonstration of economic viability is neither impressive, nor careful, nor new, but his refutation of the negative arguments has considerable merit. He more effectively challenges the familiar assertions of a weakening ideological and psychological commitment to slavery.

His opening chapter, "A Plantation Economy," is notable for its excellent portrayal of a society in ambiguous relationship to the developing capitalist world: on the one hand, bound economically to it; on the other hand, with a social structure and ideology at variance with it. His discussion, nonetheless, itself suffers from ambiguity. He insists on describing the planters as agrarian capitalists and aristocrats simultaneously, but does not explore the implied contradiction. He makes too much of the "profit motive" among the slaveholders, but fails to distinguish it from that of the northern capitalists. Yet, his essays on ideology and politics show, with great force, that an acquisitiveness directed toward certain forms of property, and especially human property, is worlds apart from a "profit motive"—that is, the accumulation of money for its own sake.

He vigorously attacks the Jeffersonians for allegedly talking antislavery and working to strengthen and expand it. At his best, McColley stresses the objective effects of Jeffersonian policies and reveals their enormous contribution to the development of the slaveholding class. At his worst, despite denials, he verges on a crude charge of hypocrisy. Even on the higher level, his argument raises doubts, for without a careful appraisal of the extent to which Jeffersonian policies strengthened the developing antislavery forces (for example, the small holders' economy in the North) no proper evaluation is possible. His flaming judgments on the Jeffersonian party constitute no sober analysis of the ideological position of the slaveholders. Had he contented himself with showing that Jefferson and his followers, wittingly or not, helped nurture the slave power, he would have done a big job in an unassailable way. His exaggerations may discredit a sound argument. Whatever Jefferson's vacillations, it was quite a jump to Dew and Fitzhugh, and that jump needs to be explained, not passed over.

The book has a loose structure, deficiencies of argument, and an occasional lapse into sophomoric strutting, but neither the criticisms of style nor those of content add up to a negative judgment. The stylistic lapses would be less noticeable were the book generally not so well written. The deficiencies of content ought not blind us to the admirable quality of much of the treatment of slavery and social life in Virginia, nor to the good sense pervading much of the book, nor to the usefulness of such bold and provocative thrusts. The University of Illinois, which gave the book its first Dickerson Award, is not likely to regret its choice.

Rutgers University EUGENE D. GENOVESE

THE CASE FOR LIBERTY. By *Helen Hill Miller*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 254. $5.95.)

THE underlying idea on which this book rests is both simple and altogether plausible. It is that to some considerable extent, though English precedents were im-

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portant, the guarantees of individual rights in the revolutionary state constitutions and in the federal Bill of Rights were a consequence of specific historical incidents in the colonial period of American history. That constitutional texts reflect concrete human experience is, of course, a commonplace idea, and I must assume, though Mrs. Miller is not explicit on this point, that what she is trying to do is give greater weight to the colonial events and less to those that occurred in Britain.

To illustrate her thesis, the author discusses nine historical incidents: the jailing of Baptist preachers in Virginia in 1771 (freedom of religion); the Zenger case in New York in 1735 (freedom of the press); courts-martial in Virginia following Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676 (right to bear arms); the indictment of Alexander MacDougall for seditious libel in New York in 1771 (quartering of troops); the argument in the Massachusetts Superior Court on the legality of writs of assistance in 1761 (search and seizure); the imprisonment of Thomas Powell in 1773 for contempt of the Council of South Carolina (due process of law); the investigation of the *Gaspee* burning by a special tribunal in Rhode Island in 1773 (trial in the vicinage); the New York case of *Forsey* v. *Cunningham* in 1764 (the right to a jury); and the mock trials by the North Carolina Regulators in 1770 (freedom from extortion). The writing is lively and uncluttered, and indeed rather breezy in a journalistic manner. While the author often quotes from original contemporaneous documents, there are no supporting footnotes, though there is a truly impressive review of basic sources at the end of the book. Miller has a good eye for interesting quotations and tells the story of rather familiar historical events in such a fashion as to hold the attention of the reader. She makes a serious effort to place the nine historical incidents she selected for discussion in the context of their age, and no one can doubt that such events as these helped shape the thinking of our very earliest constitution writers. Nonspecialists in American colonial history will read this book with profit, and the general lay reader will also find it entertaining.

University of Wisconsin DAVID FELLMAN

THE SUPREME COURT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. TEN GREAT DECISIONS: THE PEOPLE, THE TIMES AND THE ISSUES. By *Marjorie G. Fribourg*. (Philadelphia: Macrae Smith Company. 1965. Pp. 193. $3.95.)

THIS HONORABLE COURT: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT. By *Leo Pfeffer*. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 470. $10.95.)

THE torrent of books about the Supreme Court seems unending. Marjorie Fribourg, gifted storyteller, has put her talent to good use on this serious and timely subject. Focusing on ten major decisions, spanning the great divide that separates *Marbury* v. *Madison* and *Baker* v. *Carr,* she sets the cases in historical context and tells in simple, straightforward language what was decided. She has researched widely and chosen her material with an eye for the dramatic. The lay reader will be entertained and painlessly informed concerning judicial decisions that have shaped our history. The author's credentials falter in her "Suggestions for Further

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Reading." Unknown Patricia Acheson occupies space that might better have been assigned Edward S. Corwin or Thomas Reed Powell. Conspicuously absent from the biographers mentioned are the names of Charles Fairman and Mark Howe.

More ambitious than Fribourg, Leo Pfeffer, constitutional lawyer and special counsel of the American Jewish Congress, runs the entire gamut, uninhibited by the theological tradition still firmly held by certain members of his profession. For Pfeffer the Court, along with Congress and the President, shares in governing. "In a realistic sense," he writes, "the Supreme Court is legislating or at least participating in the legislative process." When the Court vetoes statutes, which the Constitution does not prevent, it in effect legislates—indeed amends the Constitution under the guise of interpreting it. In *Pennsylvania* v. *Nelson* "what in fact the Court did . . . was itself to enact a law, which it read into the federal laws, that the states may not enact statutes seeking to punish or prevent subversion against the federal government." On occasion the sedate justices go further, saddling by law, as in the desegregation decision of 1954, "a social revolution upon a great portion of the country." In all this the author is in full accord. "The institution least democratic in its structure . . . has become the institution most committed to and effective in the promotion and preservation of democracy."

Lawyers' history is notoriously unreliable. Learned Hand went to his grave believing that judicial review had not been authorized. Though Pfeffer does not share Hand's doubts, he believes "the conclusion is inescapable that the Court was of relatively minor importance in the minds of the fathers of the Constitution." Certain evidence points to the contrary. Hamilton said the judiciary was designed to cure "the crowning defect" of the Articles of Confederation; Washington considered the Supreme Court "the keystone of our political fabric." In the shamefully neglected *Letters of Brutus,* published in 1788, Robert Yates, one of the Constitution's most vehement critics, foresaw what Pfeffer records as a fact, that the power vested in the Supreme Court was "altogether unprecedented in a free country." Yates predicted that it would enable the justices "to mould the government into almost any shape they please." *Federalist* essay, Number 78, written by Hamilton in answer to Yates, suggested that judicial review was "a circumstance calculated to have more influence upon the character of our governments than but few may be aware of."

This book suffers from the defects of its qualities; the pages are strewn with personal judgments, some of them open to question. Chief Justice Hughes had the qualities of greatness, the author declares, "except long years of continuous service." One thinks of another shortcoming: lack of a large vision of things to come. Prior to 1937 Hughes could not find within the four corners of the Constitution the power necessary to govern the economy. Even in upholding the Wagner Labor Disputes Act, the Chief Justice cited "the explicit reservation of the Tenth Amendment" as a limit on national power. In thus holding the line, Hughes realized the prediction he had made in 1928: "If our dual system with its recognition of local authority in local concerns is worth maintaining, judicial review is likely to be of increasing value." Until FDR launched his assault on judicial obscurantism in February 1937 the Chief Justice seemed determined to enforce the paralyzing doctrine of "dual federalism." Under pressure, he finally yielded to the

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wisdom of Holmes's pungent injunction: "To rest upon a formula is a slumber that, prolonged, means death."

The Taft Court, Pfeffer tells us, created out of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment "an effective instrument for the protection from infringement by the states of the First Amendment rights of freedom of religion, speech, press and assembly." Though not without certain justification, the credit accorded is exaggerated. The wiretapping decision of 1927 (*Olmstead* v. *United States*) was so reactionary that even Justice Butler, no flaming liberal, joining Holmes and Brandeis in dissent, charged that the Chief Justice had forgotten that "it is a Constitution we are expounding." *Gitlow* v. *New York,* considered by Pfeffer as a boon for civil liberties, evoked dissents from Holmes and Brandeis, including Holmes's famous caveat: "If in the long run the beliefs expressed in proletarian dictatorship are destined to be accepted by the dominant forces of the community, the only meaning of free speech is that they should be given their chance and have their way." *Whitney* v. *California,* also decided in 1927, moved Justice Brandeis to fashion in cadenced prose his classic utterance on the fundamentals of free speech. Felix Frankfurter had the Taft Court in mind when he wrote in 1938: "That a majority of the Court which frequently disallowed restraints on economic power should so consistently have sanctioned restraint of the mind is perhaps only a surface paradox. There is an underlying unity between fear of ample experimentation in economics and fear of expression of heretical ideas." It was not until the early 1930's that the Court, led by Hughes, laid solid foundations for the guardianship that marks the Warren Court's civil rights decisions.

Delightfully freewheeling, unencumbered by the apparatus of scholarship, Pfeffer has given us an engaging personal testament, not, as the publisher claims, "a complete account of a unique American institution."

Princeton University ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON

FROM NEWGATE TO DANNEMORA: THE RISE OF THE PENITENTIARY IN NEW YORK, 1796–1848. By *W. David Lewis.* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 311. $6.75.)

INEVITABLY, the core of this able history of one state's pioneering in penology is its account of the famous Auburn system of prison discipline. The author attributes the system's origin partly to disillusionment with the failure of milder methods. He also links the public support for harsh discipline to a desire to enforce conformity to traditional values and to a belief in the depravity of transgressors. In advancing the latter interpretation, Lewis is much influenced by modern historical works which hold that western New York was a part of greater New England and was stirred by that section's outlook on reform. He succeeds in placing the Auburn system within the context of the conservative reform movements described by Clifford S. Griffin and others. He is much less fortunate, however, in his attempt to tie the gentler prison management of the 1840's to a transition from coercive to humanitarian reformism. By introducing this inadequately proven change in broad attitudes toward reform, he obscures the significance of his later

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passages on the effects upon prisons of politics, economic factors, and the personalities of a handful of administrators.

The work never completely fulfills its readers' desire to understand the men who ran the prisons, although the shortage of manuscript sources helps to account for this disappointment. Far more satisfactory is the treatment of the prisons themselves. For evidence, the author rests very heavily on published public documents, but he also exhausts such other sources as the many descriptions by travelers and the few by former convicts. Lewis uses these materials to construct outstanding accounts of life in the Auburn and Sing Sing Prisons. These gripping, well-written chapters provide the first detailed scholarly analysis of the actual operation of the Auburn system.

The book contains much of interest to students of general penal history. There is a good concise summary of earlier prison theories in Europe and America. Much of the discussion of the Auburn system is relevant to the other states where it was used and to its competition with the rival Pennsylvania system. Social historians will find useful information on attitudes toward women prisoners, the opposition of labor to prison industries, and the application of phrenology to prison discipline. While the work also has minor defects, they do not impair its solid worth.

Creighton University FRANK L. BYRNE

POLITICS IN NEW YORK STATE, 1800–1830. By *Alvin Kass.* (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 221. $4.95.)

THIS book illuminates one of the most confusing topics in American history, politics in New York State in the early nineteenth century—a topic one might be tempted to relegate to permanent confusion but for the recognized bearing of events in the Empire State upon developments on the national scene. Kass is more concerned with the nature of political activity than with a systematic narrative of political events. He describes in useful detail the development of party machinery and election practice at the local level, a contribution that would have benefited from an attempt to show whether there were differences between rural and urban practices in this regard.

The author's thesis is that the enactment of democratic reforms in New York in this period was "the result of the support of politicians of different parties at different times rather than the victory of a consistently democratic group against an equally consistent conservative group." He shows that former Federalist leaders, rather than gravitating predominantly toward the Clintonian faction of the Republican party, were to be found in almost equal numbers in the Van Buren or Bucktail wing of the party. He makes it abundantly clear that the policies of both the Clintonians and the Bucktails were based more on political opportunism and expediency than on any consistently held ideological positions. Thus, despite their alleged conservatism, the Clintonians endorsed the popular election of presidential electors and the elimination of the caucus, against the dogged opposition of the Bucktails, and backed up the claims of farmers and laborers against the Bucktail supported administration of the Holland Land Company. This interpretation

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supplies a useful corrective of the point of view implicit in Dixon Ryan Fox's *The Decline of Aristocracy in the State of New York, 1801–1840.*

Kass's findings are in line with current interpretations that minimize the bearing of economic status upon party affiliation and play down the direct connection of Jackson with the achievement of political democracy. He shows that ambivalence and ambiguity characterized both political factions on the question of support for banks, tariff, internal improvements, and manufacturing. Basic democratic reform, he contends, had been realized by 1824, as a result primarily of the play of political warfare on the state and local level. Kass has not given us a full-dress story of New York politics in this significant period. Much spadework still needs to be done, especially on the municipal level, but his well-argued interpretation will provide other students with a useful and provocative frame of reference for their research.

New York University BAYRD STILL

JOSEPH CHARLESS: PRINTER IN THE WESTERN COUNTRY. By *David Kaser.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1963. Pp. 13–160. $4.50.)

THE career of Joseph Charless, a refugee from the Irish rebellion of 1795, touched life on the western frontier in many ways. Charless was, as the late Dixon Ryan Fox would say, "a civilizer," whose entrepreneurial zeal manifested itself as printer and bookseller, editor and publisher, apothecary and hosteler, principally in St. Louis, where he left his mark in the early 1800's. Material success was matched by conspicuous public service, notably in the founding and publication of Missouri's first newspaper, the *Missouri Gazette,* begun in 1808 and destined for over a century of civic usefulness. His was a pioneer role in working for a sense of community and in promoting the refinements of living, first in the territory and then in the state of Missouri.

David Kaser has brought his expert bibliographical skills to bear in ferreting out the particulars of Charless' life. He has gone far beyond the biographical material to be found in McMurtrie and several recent academic papers on aspects of the subject. Factually the result is eminently satisfactory; the annotation is useful and revealing; there is a careful list of Charless imprints; the book is stylistically felicitous; and there are shrewd insights in the spirit of modern scholarship. Here are important references to the great and near great who helped to shape Charless' thought and action: Mathew Carey, his patron, Henry Clay, his adviser, Thomas Hart Benton, his newspaper rival, to mention a few. The vicissitudes of the frontier editor in the Kentucky country and then in Missouri are sharply delineated.

But one misses a fuller narrative development of the subject, told against the richly varied political and social background of the times. No attempt has been made, for example, to draw on or to exploit the sort of sources Richard C. Wade uses in *The Urban Frontier,* covering the same years and in three of the very cities, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis, where Charless played a significant

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role. Somehow, the high drama of the period with its burning issues of war and peace, slavery and abolition, statehood and compromise eludes us.

City College of New York SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ

THE PIONEER EDITOR IN MISSOURI 1808–1860. By *William H. Lyon.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 202. $5.95.)

ALTHOUGH there have been a number of histories of journalism in particular states (Arkansas, California, Georgia, Kansas, Ohio) and of frontier journalism in various western states and territories (Minnesota, Montana, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah), Professor Lyon's *The Pioneer Editor in Missouri* is probably the best account of the pioneer press in any of the western states. As such, it compares favorably with Milton Hamilton's eastern-oriented *The Country Printer, 1785–1830,* a study of the country press of New York State.

Lyon's book, a doctoral dissertation at the University of Missouri, begins with the founding, in 1808, of Joseph Charless' (St. Louis) *Missouri Gazette* and concludes with the transition of the Missouri press from craft to professional status, which was beginning to become evident on the eve of the Civil War. The basic organization of the book is topical, nevertheless, focusing on such subjects as the circumstances under which pioneer newspapers were founded; the role of politics in early Missouri journalism; the pioneer editor's conception of news (substantially different from that of the twentieth century); the success or lack of success of the newspaper in portraying frontier society; and the characters and personalities of editors like Charless, the reckless and abusive James H. Birch, and Nathaniel Patten, "ever the conscience of Missouri pioneer journalism." Also the book stresses the itineracy of pioneer editors, the high mortality and conservative make-up of their scrubby little hand-set publications, and the dependence of private (newspaper) enterprise from the outset on government aid through the medium of contracts for public printing.

In discussing these and related themes, Lyon deals at some length with a facet of newspaper history that has received only spotty coverage in even the best histories of American journalism and places the pioneer editor in Missouri in meaningful perspective. In the author's opinion, however, the pioneer newspaper was less a mirror than a pattern in the mosaic of frontier society, for the average Missouri editor gave little attention to local news before 1860 and was both too much identified with his society and too much of an individualist to be very analytical about it.

It is not always clear which of the writer's generalizations apply exclusively (or mainly) to the pioneer editor in Missouri and which pertain to western editors as a whole. Also the book ignores or gives only peripheral treatment to certain questions that seem pertinent to its subject, as, for example, the degree to which the pioneer editor in Missouri was an exponent of or reacted against the anti-intellectualism that was such a prominent element of the frontier mind.

Chatham College J. CUTLER ANDREWS

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THE AWAKENING OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM, 1815–1828. By *George Dangerfield*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xiii, 331. $6.00.)

American political historians have traditionally viewed the years between the Treaty of Ghent and the inauguration of Andrew Jackson as constituting a "period," but they never have agreed in defining its character or establishing its dominant theme. The rubric "Era of Good Feelings," which Mr. Dangerfield previously employed in his Pulitzer Prize-winning volume, has long since ceased to enjoy scholarly respectability, but no comparable unifying concept has taken its place. Now, in this second review of the period, the author strongly advances the thesis that political developments acquire meaning if they are understood as reflecting a conflict between what he terms economic nationalism and democratic nationalism.

The present volume, like *The Era of Good Feelings,* deals with the conventional array of topics, ranging from the American system, the Transcontinental Treaty, the Monroe Doctrine, and the Missouri Compromises to the Tariff of Abominations and the presidential elections of 1824 and 1828. The treatment in each instance is authoritative, evidencing sure mastery of the relevant literature and mature judgment of men and measures. Although much of the material bears an obvious resemblance to that presented in his earlier work, the author has made detailed revisions in his account on the basis of recent scholarship, most notably with respect to the Tariff of Abominations and the election of 1828.

The distinguishing feature of the book is the interpretive structure that Dangerfield has created to give new meaning to the period. As he sees it, a brief burst of patriotic sentiment after the War of 1812 produced temporary agreement on a nationalistic program, but out of circumstances associated with the panic of 1819 a conflict soon developed between the proponents of economic nationalism and democratic nationalism. John Quincy Adams, variously described as a neomercantilist and a continentalist, was the conspicuously unsuccessful advocate of economic nationalism, while Jackson was to emerge as the beneficiary and symbol of democratic nationalism. The decade after 1819, once labeled by Dangerfield as the "Age of Suspense," becomes the "Age of Introspection," and the influence of agrarianism, previously accorded considerable weight, is now de-emphasized and comprehended within the revised context. Whether this interpretation is meaningful and adequate is open to question, but it does represent a courageous and informed attempt to come to terms with the era.

Because of the restrictions necessarily imposed by the format of "The New American Nation Series," the author has had to alter his admirable literary style, abandoning the episodic, loosely connected narrative form that marked his previous work. But this tightly packed, carefully structured volume is rescued from dullness by extraordinary literary grace and facility, which offer new verbal delights for the reader on every page.

Rutgers University Richard P. McCormick

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JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY AND THE HISTORIANS. By *Alfred A. Cave.* [University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number 22.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1964. Pp. 86. $2.00.)

THIS account of Jacksonian historiography follows the general lines laid down in earlier reviews, though dealing with a larger number of writers (scores of them, in fact) and going into greater detail. Nineteenth-century writers expressed distaste for Old Hickory and all his works. Following the lead of Turner, historians in the early decades of the twentieth century showed greater enthusiasm for the democratic tendencies Jackson represented. The pro-Jackson trend culminated in Schlesinger's *Age of Jackson,* which provoked a sharp reaction, and the development of several new interpretations. Actually, the author suggests in conclusion, "the Jacksonian movement may have been so highly pluralistic as to render impossible its definition within the framework of any single concept." All the interpretations may be correct to a degree.

For the most part, however, the author has "endeavored to reproduce" rather than to evaluate the interpretive work of the multitude of Jackson scholars. This approach has enabled him to achieve the fairness and objectivity at which he aimed, while making his whole careful exercise somewhat pointless.

University of California, Berkeley CHARLES SELLERS

THE FUR TRADE ON THE UPPER MISSOURI, 1840–1865. By *John E. Sunder.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 295. $5.95.)

BY beginning where the standard works leave off and carrying the story up to its logical conclusion in 1865, this book fills a definite void in the history of the fur trade in the American West. Set in the upper Missouri country, which was bypassed by settlement until the 1860's, it focuses primarily upon the St. Louis firm of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company, usually known as the American Fur Company, the legitimate offspring of Astor's great instrument.

It was the Chouteau group that dominated the river-borne commerce in furs and buffalo robes as its steamboats and those of its rivals wrote a new chapter in the history of inland transportation. The firm's sharp practices and flexible business ethics, its illegal use of liquor, its political maneuvering and surprising success in influencing the appointment of sympathetic Indian agents, its use for its own ends of Indian goods carried upriver for distribution under anuity contracts, all brought a dubious reputation and supremacy over a constantly shifting, but determined opposition. All the while, conscious of the need to improve its public image, it carefully extended the hospitality of its steamboats and trading posts to the articulate and influential writers, scientists, artists, or missionaries who wandered up the Missouri.

But in the 1860's gold discoveries pulled thousands through the fur country to Idaho and Montana, bringing in their wake settlement and organized government, both inimical to company autonomy. The Sioux uprising brought the army, likewise objectionable. With trade already steadily declining, the Civil War seriously disrupted markets, and the known southern ties of the Chouteaus and many

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of their employees made favors difficult to obtain. Thus in 1865 the Chouteaus sold out, and the era in which St. Louis controlled the upriver fur traffic came to a close.

This is not the distorted and romanticized approach so typical of much of the literature on the earlier fur trade. Drama is inherent, but it is sound, well-conceived, carefully documented history. It has maps, two dozen illustrations, and a comprehensive bibliography, for in addition to the usual sources, the author has scoured archives and libraries from coast to coast and as far afield as London.

University of Illinois CLARK C. SPENCE

FORT UNION AND THE WINNING OF THE SOUTHWEST. By *Chris Emmett.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 436. $5.95.)

As has been demonstrated many times, good, sound historical writing does not necessarily have to be the product of a doctoral degree. Chris Emmett has proved this again by producing a comprehensive and definitive history of Fort Union on the high plains of central New Mexico in a splendidly approved manner.

Based upon an exceptional accumulation of primary sources, the book opens with General Stephen Watts Kearny's expedition into New Mexico and his taking of the old Spanish city of Santa Fe from its Mexican holders in 1846. Kearny went on to California, but Santa Fe, the "City Different," remained in the hands of other United States Army officers of northern and antislavery persuasion who continued to hold the capital as a post against Texan claims which were, for a time, even admitted in Washington. The compromise measures of 1850 eliminated the Texan claims but not the need for military supervision in New Mexico. Santa Fe, however, under the impetus of federal money, became a "sink of vice and extravagance" most noted for its gambling areas and its women of easy virtue.

Fort Union was the result of a policy change. It inaugurated a new era of puritanical vigor for the armed force in New Mexico, a "Cromwellian" reversal. In 1851, by Washington direction, headquarters were moved from Santa Fe, and Fort Union was established. The site, on the Moro and the old Santa Fe Trail was approximately fifty miles east of Santa Fe. The move did not effect perfect purification, but the post did continue, for better or for worse, in military routine until 1891.

During its forty years of existence the fort felt some of the pains of the Civil War, helped contain the Apaches and Comanches, and represented the major federal military authority in the territory. Among its personnel, the fort had some who were diligent and great, some who were diligent but ineffective, and some who were irresponsible sons of distinguished fathers. The soldiers' story is told in this account frequently in the exact words of those who participated in the various events recounted. In fact, the studied and deliberate effort to let the makers of the history, wherever possible, tell their own story is the major distinguishing feature of the book.

University of Texas H. BAILEY CARROLL

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CHARLES REED BISHOP: MAN OF HAWAII. By *Harold Winfield Kent.* (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books. 1965. Pp. xvi, 365. $7.50.)

In 1846 Bishop left New York for Oregon, but chose to remain in Hawaii, where he later married a Kamehameha descendant whom he outlived by thirty years. He left Hawaii in 1894 to spend his last twenty years near San Francisco. The author found the "Bishop story" to be "plain, unostentatious, singularly free of nuance and intrigue," but he did not attempt a chronologically arranged biography. Instead there is a series of uncoordinated essays, widely variant in length and importance, and so awkwardly arranged as to call for unnecessary explanations and duplication of data.

Colonel Kent's admiration for Bishop is clearly expressed, but smooths over his hero's shortcomings. Bishop, who was merchant, banker, and philanthropist, becomes a cross between Santa Claus and Andrew Carnegie. Bishop's gifts and endowments went largely to educational or religiously oriented institutions, and to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, his permanent memorial to his wife. As the last of the Kamehamehas she was able, with Bishop's help, to found and endow the Kamehameha Schools of which Kent was recently president. Not unnaturally, those essays concerned with the museum, the estates, and the schools are the longest and most useful in the volume.

The author does not use letters to, only letters from, Bishop. Copious quotations from these do "throw important light on the march of history within Hawaii," yet the reader is never enabled to come to grips with Bishop the man, nor the Hawaii in which he lived. Unfortunately, Kent excised many sections from the letters that might reflect on Bishop, or be derogatory or offensive to the native Hawaiians. Although Bishop called Queen Liliuokalani "revengeful" and wrote of her "folly and treachery," and even warned the Princess Kaiulani to beware of the blandishments of her own people, Kent fails to note this. In addition, he either did not see a number of letters or ignored them because of content.

Errors of omission and commission abound. Some were caused by careless copying, others by lack of historical background. For example, "bluejackets" (not marines) were landed on January 16, 1893 (not January 19), from the USS *Boston*. Hawaii did not go from "Republic" to "Territory" at high noon on August 12, 1898. There are almost no footnotes and no bibliography, apparently on the assumption that the people for whom the book was written would not be interested in either. Credits for pictures used are seldom given. The index is inadequate and incomplete.

University of Hawaii Charles H. Hunter

THE BUCKEYE ROVERS IN THE GOLD RUSH: AN EDITION OF TWO DIARIES. Edited with an introduction by *Howard L. Scamehorn.* (Athens: Ohio University Press; distrib. by New York University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 195. $5.00.)

Of the publishing of overland and gold-rush diaries there is no end. This little book is an edition of two diaries written by members of a party from Athens County in southeastern Ohio headed for the California gold fields in 1849. These

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thirteen "Buckeye Rovers," as they called themselves, maintained their cooperative association for the five months it took them to reach California, and most of them continued close relations for nearly three years in the mines. By the close of 1852 the "Rovers," except for two who died in the diggings, were all back in Ohio having enjoyed varying measures of success.

The two diaries make a sharp contrast in coverage and quality. The record kept by J. E. Armstrong is fragmentary and perfunctory and involves only a part of the overland trek. There is really little excuse for its publication except to emphasize the detail, grace, and originality of the journals of his fellow Ohioan, John Edwin Banks. The latter, a shoemaker by trade and devoted to his family, filled three diaries (one of which was lost) with personal reflections and observations designed in large part to keep a kind of connection between him and his parents, sisters, and brothers whom he was leaving for the first time. Banks responded to the traditional landmarks along the way with a freshness and simple eloquence unusual in overland diaries. Moreover, he recounts the frustrations of more than two years of stubborn searching for paying placers with a quiet, impressive restraint. The reader of these diaries will not learn anything significantly new about overland migration or conditions in the California mines, but in Banks he will meet a sensitive and literate man of humor, common sense, and probity.

The editing by Howard L. Scamehorn is generally adequate, and the Ohio University Press has provided an uncommonly attractive binding.

University of Oregon EDWIN R. BINGHAM

FIVE YEARS A DRAGOON ('49 TO '54): AND OTHER ADVENTURES ON THE GREAT PLAINS. By *Percival G. Lowe*. With an introduction and notes by *Don Russell*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xxxi, 336. $5.95.)

PERCIVAL G. Lowe's first experience on the Great Plains was as a private in the dragoons, but he took to army life so effectively that by the end of his five-year period of enlistment he had been promoted to a first sergeant. The next five years he served as a civilian employee of the Quatermaster's Department, resigning in time to join the gold rush to Pike's Peak. When the Civil War came, he started his own business transporting supplies for the Federal army. Fate guided Lowe to places in the West where events of national importance were taking place. He was assigned to Fort Laramie in 1851 when the Indian tribes were gathered to make peace with the government and was in charge of securing the supplies and equipment to build Fort Riley at the time of the cholera epidemic of 1855. In addition he witnessed the "Bleeding Kansas" brutalities while providing military supplies to the Federal troops sent to quell the disorders; served as master of transportation for Colonel E. V. Sumner's campaign against the hostile Cheyenne; and in 1858 had charge of the wagon train for the army in Utah during the "Mormon War." The next year he was engaged in mercantile enterprises in Denver at the height of the gold rush to Pike's Peak. In his travels Lowe encountered many men who had already enjoyed distinguished careers, like Jim Bridger, the mountain man, scout, and guide; or young army officers who were destined for fame in the Civil War.

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He met and worked with an estimated sixty men who were to become generals either in the Union or Confederate forces, recording his impressions of many.

In writing his memoirs on such an active and varied career Lowe provided historians with a reference work that could be quoted on many events and people. The 1906 edition has been out of print for many years and has been known primarily to scholars specializing in the American West. The publishers express the hope that Lowe's account may now be read and not merely quoted.

Don Russell, as editor, makes a significant contribution in his introduction where he notes that Lowe's account is unusual because it was written by an enlisted man in the Regular Army during a time of peace and prior to the Civil War. Most accounts of the army in the trans-Mississippi West were written during or after the conflict by officers or their wives or by correspondents for newspapers and periodicals. In addition to a biographical sketch of Lowe, the editor has provided an exceptionally meaningful and concise essay on the structure and function of the United States Army, 1848–1861. Historians in any way concerned with the subject will find the time spent in reading the introduction a rewarding experience.

University of California, Davis W. Turrentine Jackson

THE MOVEMENT FOR INDIAN ASSIMILATION, 1860–1890. By *Henry E. Fritz*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1963. Pp. 244. $6.00.)

Professor Fritz has undertaken to provide us with a clearer picture of a crucial era in United States-American Indian relations. Although the title sets 1860–1890 as the limits of the study, the concentration is on the Grant administration and the peace policy that evolved then, and whose major reforms barely outlasted it. The author maintains that previous writers on the subject have failed to do justice to the peace policy. He is not reluctant to indicate with whom he disagrees; he states his opinions, throughout, clearly and forthrightly.

Fritz concludes the peace policy was an "intelligent attempt" to cope with the Indian problem. He sees net gains in the quality of agency personnel recruited by the churches, and the new and improved administrative procedures introduced. He admits that there were many failures, but offers as extenuating circumstances the lack of cooperation from the Catholic Church, the hostility of the military and the West, and the parsimony of Congress. He is particularly hard on the Catholics —unjustly so in my opinion. As Fritz admits, the Catholic Church was discriminated against in the assignment of agencies. His suggestion, that given the opportunity Catholics would have done the same, does not excuse the original injustice. Nor can I agree with the "inescapable conclusion" that Senator Dawes was a "front man for national organizations and that he was, at least in part, prompted to assume that role because of the popularity of Indian reform among his constituents. . . ." Certainly the remainder of the Massachusetts delegation was not so moved.

For an "intelligent attempt" at Indian policy, the peace policy produced remarkably little evidence of effective cooperation among the religious leaders involved. Nor was all the bickering between Catholics and Protestants, the latter finding ample opportunities to quarrel among themselves. On the crucial matter

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of personnel selection, the recruiting techniques of the churches sometimes seemed as unrewarding as the spoils system. An interesting comparison might be made of the performance of church sponsored individuals and that of army officers detailed to special duty as agents.

This volume represents a more thoroughly researched study of the peace policy than anything we have had previously. But as a study of the post-Civil War period to 1890, it only supplements, and does not displace, Loring Benson Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren.*

State University College, Fredonia, New York WILLIAM T. HAGAN

THE NEGRO'S CIVIL WAR: HOW AMERICAN NEGROES FELT AND ACTED DURING THE WAR FOR THE UNION. By *James M. McPherson.* (New York: Pantheon Books. 1965. Pp. xii, 358. $6.95.)

NEITHER the title page of this book nor the outside of the dust jacket gives any indication that it is a compilation of source materials. The publisher's blurb speaks of a "fascinating study" and a "history" before finally slipping in the word "collection." *The Negro's Civil War* is obviously a by-product of the author's *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1964). Having published a monograph on the subject, Dr. McPherson now publishes some of the documents gathered in the course of his research, and any historian who has sadly filed away a stack of unused and partly used source notes will envy him the opportunity to do so. One finds some repetition here of quotations that appear in the earlier work, such as those of Frederick Douglass, but much of the material is fresh. The arrangement is partly chronological and partly topical, with twenty-two chapters covering subjects like emancipation, colonization, anti-Negro violence, Negroes in military service, and the issue of segregation. Extensive, well-written editorial commentary ties the documents together, and a good index enhances the usefulness of the book. There is also a bibliographical essay. Through these writings by Negroes and by white men about Negroes, one sees the Civil War as it appeared to those who had the most at stake. The effect is moving and instructive, for here are the plainly visible beginnings of a revolution that is still in progress.

Stanford University DON E. FEHRENBACHER

INFERNAL MACHINES: THE STORY OF CONFEDERATE SUBMARINE AND MINE WARFARE. By *Milton F. Perry.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 230. $5.95.)

LIKE Germany in the twentieth-century world wars, the Confederacy in the Civil War hoped to cancel its opponent's mastery of the surface of the sea by recourse to new weapons beneath the surface. Like Germany's undersea warfare, the Confederacy's took life so indiscriminately as to arouse misgivings of conscience even among its authors and to carry warfare another step toward totalization. The misgivings, and the opponent's protests, were softer in the nineteenth than in the twentieth century largely because man's destructive imagination far exceeded

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the technology of the day, and the Confederacy's infernal machines often fizzled.

This book is a comprehensive history of those machines, based upon contemporary technical publications of inventors and experts in their use, including the United States Army's careful study of its enemy's new weapons; a search through scattered materials in the *Official Records;* manuscript sources including the papers of Matthew Fontaine Maury, one of the principal pioneers of the new warfare; and examination of the collection of Confederate weapons at West Point. The Confederacy employed both mechanical "torpedoes," that is, underwater mines designed to explode upon contact, and electrical ones, which an observer could touch off at an appropriate moment by completing an electrical circuit. The advantages of the electrical type were partially offset by the primitive electrical science of the day; at the beginning of the war the only battery available for such torpedoes was the Wollaston, consisting of banks of cells in which eighteen pairs of ten-by-twelve-inch zinc plates were immersed in thirty-six gallons of sulphuric acid. The much-improved "Wheatstone's Magnetic Exploder" came from England too late to be of much use. The uses of the "torpedoes" were principally defensive. Since they accomplished little when they were drifted downstream in an effort to turn them into offensive weapons, the Confederacy turned to other offensive expedients, such as embryo submarines, notably the *H. L. Hunley,* and tiny torpedo boats that carried a torpedo on their prow.

Perry discusses all these weapons, as well as torpedoes employed ashore as underground antipersonnel weapons. His treatment is necessarily episodic, since he must deal with occasional experiments in almost every harbor and on many battlefronts. Perhaps he might have said more about the implications of the infernal machines for the nature of war and about contemporary thought on that subject. The machines were never decisive, but they were of material assistance in the defense of Charleston, Roanoke, and various other areas, and they much inhibited the self-assurance of the Union Navy. Their specific accomplishments are detailed here as thoroughly as anyone is likely to want.

Temple University RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

OHIO'S BOUNTY SYSTEM IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Eugene C. Murdock.* [Publications of the Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission, Number 13.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1963. Pp. 58. 75 cents.)

OHIO COLLEGES AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *G. Wallace Chessman.* [Publications of the Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission, Number 14.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1963. Pp. 32. 75 cents.)

OHIO'S MILITARY PRISONS IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Phillip R. Shriver* and *Donald J. Breen.* [Publications of the Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission, Number 15.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society. 1964. Pp. 62. 75 cents.)

IN observance of the centennial of the Civil War the Ohio Historical Society prepared a numbered series of fifteen booklets published for the society by the Ohio

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State University Press. The booklets listed above are the last three of the series. They explore limited and hitherto little-known aspects of state history during the war with much information, legal, statistical, descriptive, and especially anecdotal. Shriver and Breen offer a critical narrative rich in human interest; Murdock evaluates the bounty system, beset with evil and corruption; Chessman presents a slightly wistful reminiscence. The essays are well written, colorful, sometimes amusing, and firmly supported by sound documentation. Most of the material has been drawn from newspapers and memoirs, some from monographs and the *Official Records,* a little from diaries, state documents, and manuscript sources. The series has been quite successful, and these three booklets in particular are worthy contributions to Civil War history.

Ohio University HARRY R. STEVENS

HAYES OF THE TWENTY-THIRD: THE CIVIL WAR VOLUNTEER OFFICER. By *T. Harry Williams.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. xii, 324, vi. $5.95.)

FROM the death of Abraham Lincoln to the accession of Theodore Roosevelt, of the eight different men who became Presidents of the United States, six were officers in the Union Army during the Civil War (five of them generals). The third of these men was Rutherford B. Hayes, who, in addition to commanding the Twenty-third Ohio Regiment, also for a time exercised brigade and division command. The Twenty-third was the only Federal regiment to contain two future Presidents—Hayes and William McKinley—and in this book T. Harry Williams has capably told the story of this unit and Hayes's role as a top officer in it.

Williams demonstrates convincingly that, in the absence of sufficient numbers of West Pointers, the hundreds of intelligent volunteer officers, like Hayes, contributed mightily, if not always perfectly, to the final victories of the vast armies of the Union. Especially valuable is the author's detailed narrative of the operations in West Virginia and in the Shenandoah Valley. Basing his careful research largely on the Hayes manuscripts, Williams depicts the Ohioan as being swift to learn his soldiering trade, persistent in attending to the care of his men, and in most campaigns performing creditably in the field and camp.

Although well written and accurate, this study misses the point in dealing with the famous Confederate "Lost Order" during the Antietam campaign: McClellan had already detected Lee's plans and lines of march before the finding of this order. Too, the author understates the significance of the Federal victory at South Mountain and the important role played by Hayes and the Twenty-third in that success. Williams is a bit too hard on George Crook and too favorably inclined toward David Hunter and especially toward Phil Sheridan (as at Cedar Creek). In addition, more space might have been devoted to the relations between Hayes and McKinley. To round out the work, a bibliography should certainly have been supplied.

But Williams' study is essentially a solid addition to the understanding of an oftentimes neglected soldier-statesman. The subject emerges in sharp focus from the pages of the book. "It was," declares Williams, "a mark of the raw robust

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vigor of American democratic society that it could produce the needed men in the required numbers, and it is through a man like Hayes that we can best see how the United States lumbered into war in 1861—awkward, inefficient, wasteful, and yet somehow grand and irresistible."

The breadth and depth of the research, the dynamic mode of presentation, and the incisive evaluations make this long-awaited book a genuine contribution to the study of American military history.

Pennsylvania State University WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

THE FAREWELL TO LINCOLN. By *Victor Searcher.* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press. 1965. Pp. 320. $5.95.)

THE centennial of Lincoln's death and the current concern over presidential assassination certainly make this volume timely. Just what it contributes of significance to Lincolniana, however, is something else.

In *Lincoln's Journey to Greatness* Victor Searcher traced the twelve-day route that Lincoln followed to his inauguration. Now the author completes the round trip with a sequel dealing with the funeral cortege from Washington to Springfield. Much of the narrative consists of the ceremonies and grief expressed in Washington and at stops along the way.

Searcher says little about the political implications of the assassination and the extent to which the outbreak of hatred against the South dashed all hopes of a peaceful restoration. He dwells on the greatness of Lincoln and the grief of the people, but omits the degree to which the funeral train inspired hatred for the South, bitterness against the Democrats, and loyalty for the Republican party. Bishop Simpson's oration at the bier is described as eulogistic, but there is no indication of the vindictive character of the sermon, which declared that there should "be no peace to rebels."

Searcher frequently turns back to discuss many aspects of Lincoln's life, especially those related to previous visits to cities on the funeral route. In so doing he discusses various answers to unsolved questions that are "beyond proof, but not beyond conjecture." His conjecturing seems to follow the conspiratorial view of history. Thus the activities of Confederate agents and secret societies are exaggerated, McClellan is called a "would-be dictator," and Lincoln's death is linked to the Confederacy. The author also airs his prejudices relative to politics, the federal bureaucracy, confiscatory taxes, and other matters.

The book would be valuable to anyone who is interested in tracing the route of Lincoln's funeral train or for the numerous direct quotes and anecdotes that should be treated critically.

Kent State University HARRIS L. DANTE

MASK FOR TREASON: THE LINCOLN MURDER TRIAL. By *Vaughan Shelton.* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books. 1965. Pp. 480. $14.95.)

THOROUGH research has long been needed on the records in the National Archives that deal with the Lincoln assassination. The author of *Mask for Treason* makes a brave attempt to compare the Peterson, Pitman, and other printed transcripts of

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the conspirators' trial. He has even consulted some of the documents. But he soon abandons a sober search of the records to present a sensational interpretation of this often studied case.

There are many puzzling aspects about the Lincoln assassination, and the military tribunal that investigated it certainly bungled its work. Many questions remain unanswered because the tribunal ignored them or went off on a wrong track. Mr. Shelton takes the hundred-year-old body of evidence, emphasizes whatever supports his thesis, and comes up with some really strange ideas.

According to him, John Wilkes Booth was merely a cat's-paw who was to be done away with as soon as he had fired the fatal shot. David Herold, the young lad who accompanied him on his escape route, gave him poison at their first stop. The dose was insufficient, and so it did not kill Booth, but only made him ill.

And the man who tried to murder Seward was not the taciturn young giant, Lewis Paine, but a cousin who resembled him and who went free while the prisoner in the dock obligingly remained silent and was hanged.

John Surratt was a double spy, one of the masterminds behind the conspiracy. Others were Secretary of War Stanton, Lafayette C. Baker, and their tool, Major Thomas T. Eckert, head of the Washington Office of the Military Telegraph. The author is, of course, a disciple of the late Otto E. Eisenschiml, but he goes far beyond him.

Shelton depends heavily on a man whose letterhead reads: "Historical Investigator, Consultant Chemist and Toxicologist, Document Restoration and Analysis." It was he who found a book that he said contained Baker's signature and two cipher messages implicating more than fifty highly placed people. This protean expert gives cautious support to the theory that Herold tried to poison Booth. The author also calls upon a graphologist to interpret the personalities of some of the men involved in the case.

The more fantastic a theory is, the more persuasive the proofs for it must be. Shelton offers some novel ideas, but does not substantiate them convincingly. As a result, *Mask for Treason* belongs on the shelf with spy thrillers. The verdict is still "Not Proven."

Brooklyn, New York PHILIP VAN DOREN STERN

AN AMERICAN CRISIS: CONGRESS AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1865–1867. By *W. R. Brock*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 312. $10.00.)

A WORK of pure intelligence in which not a false step is taken, this book was written by an Englishman who knows and understands American history fully as well as anyone who professes that subject in this country. Brock has dealt with the congressional crisis of Reconstruction not as an object of "scholarship," nor even as a matter for "reinterpretation," in the routine professional sense. He has done something better; he has thought about it.

Radicalism, he perceives, was not a minority position born either of vindictive fanaticism or of special interests; it represented the majority will and is to be explained chiefly as ideology. For a brief moment in time, the most advanced in-

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stincts of an enlightened and war-chastened capitalist society—having to do with racial equality, equal rights, and the use of national authority to achieve both—became living ideas embodied in a legislative policy. The ideology had its weaknesses and its inconsistencies, but Brock sees little point in making a special category for men who supported it because it was necessary before they supported it because it was right.

Inasmuch as each side had defended its cause, both in war and in Reconstruction, in an idiom that drew heavily upon the Constitution, perhaps it would occur only to an Englishman to suggest that the Constitution itself is where we must first look when we ask questions about the failure of Reconstruction. The leading question is whether a government of separate powers at its best is equal to a crisis of such dimensions. Only an Englishman, moreover, would see the Joint Committee on Reconstruction for what it actually was: in the face of a hostile President, the committee in effect functioned as a congressional cabinet, with its chairman, Fessenden, as a sort of shadow prime minister.

A somewhat earlier book on this same subject makes an inflexible Andrew Johnson the pivotal figure and assumes that some harmony on means and ends between the executive and legislative branches of government might have produced a more successful policy on Reconstruction. In Brock's book, Johnson does not have this central role, and the author comes close to saying that whatever success and unity of purpose Congress did achieve, or might have achieved, were precisely owing to the very effort required to overcome executive obstruction. The case is certainly arguable, and I find its implications both provocative and persuasive.

It all leaves an unavoidable yet unanswerable question. How much would have been gained by an early understanding with the South, which would almost certainly have been conservative, and how much, on the other hand, could ever be gained by a military reconstruction *after* the South had learned that it could pour contempt and violence upon Negroes and northerners with impunity? The constitutional heritage of Jefferson bears no answer; the only solution, anticipated by the perverse Hamilton, was a national government competent to govern. But as things stood the firm assumption, by federal power, of supervision of southern affairs immediately upon the war's conclusion and maintained for a period of years thereafter, was a solution for which no setting existed. In the light of this, the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 can only be seen as a miserable compromise. Perhaps by that time some compromise was inevitable, but alienating the ruling class—much more tractable then than it is now—meant removing the one support indispensable for any compromise.

Brock, endlessly alert to both limits and alternatives, considers all these matters with a rich and deep wisdom. He surveys the personnel and workings of Congress out of an extensive knowledge and with a superbly independent judgment. His analysis of the economic interests at work in Reconstruction is the most sophisticated I have yet seen in a general treatment. No review can begin to suggest the many corollaries, invariably interesting, of Brock's thought, and it can only be urged that all those who care about this subject must read his book.

Columbia University ERIC L. MCKITRICK

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HOODED AMERICANISM: THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, 1865–1965. By *David M. Chalmers*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xii, 420. $5.95.)

THIS fine study's deceptive subtitle is probably a tribute to its publisher's awareness of the subject's timeliness. The author himself makes no pretense of covering the entire history. Following an introductory chapter and one entitled "The Klan Rides, 1865–71," the scene changes to the 1910's, then focuses on the post-World War I era. It thus affects only indirectly the problem in historical "revisionism" that has lately interested students of Reconstruction.

Professor Chalmers has read widely and deeply in the history of the Klan, and his bibliographical notes are helpfully presented for scholar and general reader. His sprightly and sometimes impassive presentation suits a subject that can too readily tempt the self-flattering to easy condemnation of the Klan, as distinguished from understanding. The record of atrocious whippings, murder, and terror that characterized the Klan in its modern prime continues to make it one barometer of social feeling. Chalmers has steeped himself in the details of KKK organization, personalities, and intrigue, and particularly their relation to the entire nation. Impressive is his development of materials, which break down the subject: to permit us to assay Georgia, "the Klan Tabernacle," for example, and to discriminate Klan history in the several states. There are similarities and dissimilarities between hooded New Jerseyites and Alabamans, between Kansans and the Ku Kluxers of Detroit. The author proceeds to draw these threads together and to show them as a national force, as during the famous Klan effort to affect the 1924 elections. Recently, the Klansmen have figured largely in the resistance movement to Negro civil rights, but it is a corrective to stereotyped historical thinking to realize how complex a pattern of religion, temperance, economics, morals, and politics has gone into the "dark soil" that nurtured the Klan. Thus, Oklahoma was convulsed by forces that brought out small-town reform attitudes, the personality and tactics of Governor Jack Walton, the post-World War I depression, and antiparochial school legislation, among many other factors. A wise civil libertarian would be attentive to them as facts of life. With the intimate details that Chalmers has amassed, and respecting social and political situations from coast to coast, all readers can find pages that will refresh their sense of Klan history in their own home territory, either in the twenties or since. Chalmers has not only read widely; he has pondered the meaning and destiny of the Klan. But unlike some professors of "intellectual history" who apparently imagine their methodology has given them second sight, he is unwilling to commit himself to unctuous and Pyrrhic literary victories over the Klan. He is not persuaded that the Klan has been obliterated forever. The rural phenomenon may have become an urban phenomenon, and the Klan "persists because the stuff of which Klansmen are made is a part of American society." The author's account of "The New Frontiers of the Nineteen Sixties" is sobering and astringent: a call to realism in history as in life.

Antioch College LOUIS FILLER

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THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY: THE MATURING YEARS. By *Charles Gano Talbert.* [Centennial Publication.] (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 208. $5.00.)

HAIL KENTUCKY! A PICTORIAL HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY. By *Helen Deiss Irvin.* With an introduction by *Holman Hamilton.* ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press for the University of Kentucky Centennial Committee. 1965. Pp. 102. $2.50.)

A WORTHY successor to James F. Hopkins' able study of the early years of the University of Kentucky, Professor Talbert's volume covers chiefly the period 1911–1956. The author has not let the redundant sources of recent academic history bog down his narrative; his writing is succinct and lucid. Nor has the recency of affairs intimidated him. He records the vainglory of a president emeritus, the trustees' highhanded abolition of faculty policy-making power (in 1941, soon reversed), and the scandal of bribed basketball players. Interpretation is sparse, but plausible; quotations infrequent, but revealing. Building costs, football records, and the number of articles published by the faculty make some dreary paragraphs, but on the whole the book answers the important questions and does so without sentimentality. Many names appear, but only the presidents and an occasional dean are characterized with any fullness. The university was unusual in having two successive presidents who approached greatness. Frank L. McVey (1917–1940) brought higher standards and a more generous freedom to the university (he helped prevent passage of an antievolution law). Herman L. Donovan (1941–1956) contributed an educationist's shrewdness to politics and public relations (at his urging, the trustees did not appeal the district court decision of 1949 that brought integration to the university). If the book has a villain, it is the state legislature, which repeatedly undervalued the university. Without federal and foundation aid it could not have achieved its present stature.

Doubtless by prearrangement, *Hail Kentucky!* makes up for a certain flatness and disregard of student life in Talbert's book. Covering the full century of the university's history, it presents old anecdotes, legends, poems, advertisements, and photographs (for example, a shot of the university's League of Nations pageant in 1919, "complete with Kaiser Wilhelm, Bestiality, and Suffering Humanity"). Alumni will warm to *Hail Kentucky!* Historians of higher education should not ignore it. Historiographical crimes have been committed in the name of centennial celebrations, but neither of these volumes will be indicted. Two very different sorts of history, both do honor to the University of Kentucky.

Amherst College HUGH HAWKINS

BATTLEFIELD AND CLASSROOM: FOUR DECADES WITH THE AMERICAN INDIAN, 1867–1904. By *Richard Henry Pratt.* Edited and with an introduction by *Robert M. Utley.* [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 6.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 358. $8.50.)

THE role of one of the key figures in America's unhappy post-Civil War Indian policy is detailed in this valuable documentary capably edited by the newly ap-

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pointed chief of the Division of History Studies, US National Park Service. Edited from the typescript memoir dictated to his daughter in 1923 at the age of eighty-two, the account provides vital documentation, as well as evocative detail, about the manner in which American Indian policy in the second half of the nineteenth century was created and carried out.

Pratt's single-minded dedication to the belief that the Indian could and must be brought into the mainstream of American life by education off the reservation and his constant war against "our segregating reservating Indian policy"—which led to his abrupt retirement in 1904—are a remarkable demonstration of the power of one individual to condition thinking about one of our great national problems.

With almost no support, and frequent hostility, from Indian Bureau and War Department officials in Washington, Pratt was able to restore (in their own and in white eyes) the dignity of his Indian prisoners at Fort Marion, to create and win support for his Carlisle Industrial School experiment, and to promote the cause of Indian rights generally by some of the most inventive and unorthodox means ever devised by a lieutenant of cavalry on detached duty.

Pratt's account of his role in creating the Carlisle Indian School is a remarkable chapter in the legislative history of the US Congress. Traveling back and forth between the War and Interior Departments and between the House and Senate during the course of a single day, Pratt convinced Secretary of the Interior Schurz of the value of an Indian school in an eastern community, got authority from the Secretary of War to use the old army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for the purpose, helped draft a bill to effect the transfer from the War Department to Interior, saw that revisions in the bill were approved by both Secretaries and cleared with other officials, carried the revised bill to Capitol Hill, and got a representative and a senator to agree to introduce it in both houses the following morning.

The correspondence and accounts of oral exchanges between Pratt and leading political and military figures—Presidents Hayes and Garfield, Secretary of the Interior Schurz, Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Miles, and Armstrong (founder of Hampton Institute)—which are incorporated in Pratt's memoirs provide a valuable documentary source for the historian. Pratt's memoir has previously been utilized in such studies as Elaine Goodale Eastman's *Pratt: The Red Man's Moses* (1935), but it has not heretofore been available in print.

Pratt's account is valuable not only for the historian but for the "insidious" ethnologist whose influence, along with that of the Indian Affairs bureaucrat, Pratt sought to combat. Pratt was a close observer during his years commanding, fighting, jailing, or educating Indians, and he details the precise manner in which the Indians, particularly the Indians of the southern Plains with whom he was in closest contact, captured wild horses, conducted ceremonial dances, reacted to a general's peremptory commands, and so forth. Of course Pratt's memory sometimes fails him, and the memoir is in the nature of an apologia, but its appearance in this well-edited, well-illustrated form further illuminates the tragic history of Indian-white relations on this continent.

Smithsonian Institution WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

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THE WESTERN HERO IN HISTORY AND LEGEND. By *Kent Ladd Steckmesser.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 281. $5.95.)

In this imaginative and highly successful book, Steckmesser has essayed and achieved something that the historical profession has avoided too long. Historians have been loath to acknowledge the fact that popular western heroes are legitimate figures for inquiry. Possibly scholars have been fearful of being branded superficial, antiquarian, or popular if they venture into this area which demonstrably commands wide interest among the citizenry at large. In so doing they have neglected an important subject. Granted that the western hero might not have intrinsic meaning, the very fact that he has come to symbolize something significant to millions of people makes the symbol a legitimate concern of the scholar.

Steckmesser has expertly demonstrated how four western figures, Kit Carson, Billy the Kid, Wild Bill Hickok, and General Custer, have been transformed into folk heroes. In each case he devotes a chapter to the historical record and subsequent chapters to various popular interpretations. Without getting bogged down in the cumbersome taxonomic apparatus often used by folklorists and practitioners of American studies when dealing with myths and legends, the author traces the growth of the popular image of his heroes and is willing to venture opinions of why these four became prototypical of the mountain man, outlaw, gunfighter, and soldier.

An especially interesting contribution of the volume is its illustration of how various elements of western folklore became identified with these particular men, irrespective of the fact that there is no documentation for such identification. Thus Kit Carson's riderless horse made its way to his home to alert the family that Indians had attacked him. Thus Billy the Kid outwitted an adversary by examining the man's pistol and setting the hammer on an empty chamber. On this occasion Billy magnanimously let the man draw first and then drilled him properly. And thus did Wild Bill, when covered by an outlaw, look behind the gunslinger and say "Boys, don't hit him." When the opponent turned to look, Wild Bill dispatched him.

Steckmesser's research has been wide and thorough. His bibliography reveals command of a great range of sources usually—and unwisely—ignored by serious students of American history. He has impressively demonstrated the importance of the popular hero in American culture. This book warrants the attention of any American historian; its appeal will not be restricted to regional specialists.

Washington, D. C. Walter Rundell, Jr.

ANDY ADAMS: HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS. By *Wilson M. Hudson.* (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 274. $5.00.)

Writing with the racy colloquialisms that flavored western talk, Andy Adams created his own brand of fiction. His *Log of a Cowboy,* "the only acknowledged masterpiece in the literature of the cattle country," is such a detailed, authentic account of a drive, it appears to have been written from carefully kept notes, and

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reviewers and readers often made this error. It was when he attempted to be a playwright or produce fiction for a market—and publishers' blessings—by introducing love stories into his cattle tales, incongruous as they were in his own mind, that Andy failed.

From sometimes scanty and widely scattered material, the author has pieced together the story of Andy's life. He quite properly and ably traces the influence of his cow camp and trail experiences on his writing. The plots of his seven novels, two of them for boys, and a number of his short stories and campfire tales are unfolded interestingly for the reader and are evaluated for their literary qualities. For added interest, Hudson has included some fine pictures and gleaned from various collections advice, comments, and encouragement Andy received from friends such as Emerson Hough, Eugene Manlove Rhodes, Charles M. Russell, J. Frank Dobie, and Walter Prescott Webb.

Perhaps the most valuable chapter is the last, examining Adams' place in western writing. Along with Rhodes, Hudson rates him as a creative literary artist. I can testify personally to the high regard in which Webb held him. The western historian will be grateful to this University of Texas English professor for his excellent, readable account and literary evaluation of a man whose fiction is authentic enough to give us a clearer understanding of our cattle frontier.

University of Texas JIM B. PEARSON

THE DAY OF THE BONANZA: A HISTORY OF BONANZA FARMING IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY OF THE NORTH. By *Hiram M. Drache.* (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies. 1964. Pp. x, 239. $5.75.)

PROFESSOR Hiram M. Drache of Concordia College in the Red River Valley of the North has written the first book-length description of the bonanza farming episode in that area. Previous accounts have been articles or chapters written by John Lee Coulter, Harold E. Briggs, and Stanley N. Murray; consequently, this study is more comprehensive and detailed than its predecessors.

The episode, according to the author, was made possible by the extensive land grant that the Northern Pacific Railway received from Congress and the failure in 1873 of its chief sponsor, Jay Cooke. In an effort to advertise the productivity of the valley, James B. Power, the railroad's land commissioner, suggested to some of the major investors in the company that they salvage their financial losses by exchanging depreciated railway bonds and preferred stock certificates for land. The first to do so were the NP's president, George W. Cass, and one of the directors, Benjamin P. Cheney. They acquired 13,440 acres west of Fargo and employed Oliver Dalrymple to manage them. Other investors followed suit until there were 91 of these bonanza farms, each with an acreage of 3,000 or more. Drache describes their operation, especially that of the Amenia and Sharon Land Company, to which he devotes two chapters. He attributes the success of these business ventures to the professional management provided by men like Dalrymple and E. W. Chaffee.

In preparation of this study, the author has utilized the archival resources of the North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies at North Dakota State Univer-

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sity. These include records of many of the bonanza enterprises, particularly those of the Amenia and Sharon Company as well as the letter file of James B. Power.

These big farms of eighty years ago were spectacular, but temporary; they were unable to survive the competition from family-sized farms in a democratic society. Consequently, this book is of value to both economic and social historians.

Montana State University ROBERT G. DUNBAR

THE YELLOW PRESS AND GILDED AGE JOURNALISM. By *Sidney Kobre.* ([Tallahassee: the Author.] 1964. Pp. xi, 346. $6.85.)

THE author tells us that this work is "the first study to concentrate on this era. . . . We seek thus to integrate the journalism changes with the developments in the economic, political and cultural life of the American people." Unfortunately, the book fails sadly in these purposes and in other ways. It is a collection of dully written sketches of newspapers of the period, which lumbers to a close with disappointing chapters on the Spanish-American War, the news associations and syndicates, advertising, the magazines, and advances in printing.

It is painful to speak so harshly of a subject which, now that the history of American journalism is slowly being written competently, so well lends itself to the historian. That the title is an unhappy choice is bad enough, as is one's never being told clearly what the yellow press was and what Gilded Age journalism was. When they began and when they languished are also not indicated. But, among other things, the reader is subjected to a useless high school level summary of American history; constant journalese; frequent errors; a bewildering and usually meaningless flood of dates and names, figures for circulation and personnel, sizes of the newspaper buildings, and names of the services and syndicates to which the newspapers subscribed; poor writing; vague references; annoying and often improper punctuation; a bibliography damned by what it includes and excludes; cutlines that repeat material in the text; and scores of clichés.

Among the things the reader does not get are analysis and reflection; an indication as to how the press affected American culture; graphic and penetrating treatments of the period's many imposing, colorful, memorable, and sometimes great men of journalism; suggestions as to why mighty and distinguished newspapers faltered and perished; and, finally, when one is done, any picture, generalization, or overview of the topic.

The book is useful for the who, what, where, and when of the newspapers treated. But in its complete absence of footnotes (no virtue in and of themselves, of course), its failure to have an index, and its near sterility of thought, the work is a disappointment. The best history of journalism in the United States is still, the late Dr. Frank Luther Mott notwithstanding, *The Press and America* by Edwin Emery and Henry Ladd Smith.

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot JOHN ADAM MOREAU

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GRAHAM TAYLOR: PIONEER FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1851–1938. By *Louise C. Wade.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. 268. $7.50.)

GRAHAM Taylor believed his biography would have to take the form of a symposium because no one person could cover all the activities in which he had taken part. Mrs. Wade of the University of Chicago has proved Taylor wrong. In brief compass she presents a balanced, scholarly account of Taylor's services in pulpit, classroom, and settlement house, and his labors as administrator, fund raiser, journalist, reformer, and conciliator. Those who have read Taylor's *Pioneering on Social Frontiers* will appreciate the clarity and skill with which Wade has accomplished a difficult task.

Taylor is best known as the founder and director of the Chicago Commons, one of America's most successful settlement houses. Its founding came in 1894 at the mid-point of Taylor's life. Appropriately, the author's informative chapter on the internal and external relations of the Commons comes midway in her book. The first half deals with the influences and experiences that made Taylor a vigorous preacher and teacher of the social gospel. The chapter on Taylor's work during the 1880's as pastor and seminary professor in Hartford, Connecticut, is particularly helpful in showing how his social and religious views developed. The second half of the study treats Taylor's contributions to the settlement movement, the education of social workers, and crusades for civic reform in Chicago. The chapter on Taylor's administration of the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy deserves notice for the frank but tactful way the author discusses Taylor's disagreement with Sophonisba Breckinridge and Edith Abbott over transfer of the school to the University of Chicago.

Respectful and appreciative, Wade maintains an objective attitude toward her subject. She affirms Taylor's importance as a pioneer for social justice, but she sees him, as he saw himself, as a broadener of established trails rather than as a pathfinder. Taylor's extraordinary energy enabled him to serve many causes, but the multiplicity of his commitments prevented him from becoming an outstanding leader in any one movement. "Each new opportunity seemed as challenging to him as the projects in which he was already engaged. Almost invariably he accepted the new responsibility without relinquishing or delegating any of his other duties." The compulsions that drove Taylor to assume such burdens of responsibility are not explored. The author makes plain, however, that his life was the more interesting, enjoyable, and useful because of his openness to new ideas and eagerness to meet the needs of his time.

Ohio State University ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE NEW ENGLAND COLLEGE IN THE AGE OF THE UNIVERSITY. By *George E. Peterson.* (Amherst, Mass.: Amherst College Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 260. $5.00.)

MR. Peterson chooses a disarmingly modest title for a work that records and interprets the great agony that beset the colleges of New England in the days when Eliot at Harvard and others were redefining the goals of American higher

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education. He conveys a great sense of a world being torn apart: of embattled institutions broken up into warring camps, of presidents subjected to trial by alumni (far worse than fire, he makes clear), of an ancient curriculum being held up before the glare of new knowledge and new purpose. And he writes with style, form, wit, and movement, as well as a certain audacity and liveliness rare in the work of young scholars.

This is not always a lovely story, but it is an important one. For Peterson has discovered a pattern of college crises that was "a unique experience in New England's history." He notes that "as a shared experience, the crises which reached their peaks at Dartmouth, Union, Bowdoin, Wesleyan, and Williams within the six years, 1881–1887, and at Amherst in 1894, were without precedent." Students were in revolt, faculty disaffected, alumni in arms, presidents on trial; the meaning of this display of bad behavior the author locates in a struggle over collegiate identity, a struggle that posed a number of pressing but embarrassing questions for the old colleges. Which was to prevail—old-fashioned religious dogmatism or new-fashioned scientific inquiry? Indeed, what was to be done about religion? Was it possible to compromise with the university ideal of specialization without fatally injuring that most precious ideal of the colleges—"The Whole Man"? What was the meaning of academic freedom for the *in loco parentis* tradition, the meaning of the elective curriculum for academic freedom?

In convincingly argued chapters the author demonstrates that "the crises within the New England college are best understood as part of a general collapse or transformation of the traditional institutions of New England conservatism, which took place during the same period." A chapter on the settlement house movement is an imaginative study of how young collegians attempted to transfer the "Whole Man" ideal from the campus to the slum; an epilogue advances the idea that the eastern progressivism of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson represented the political elevation of the "Whole Man," the perfect fruition of the college ideal—a sense of responsibility for those human qualities that lie beyond the intellect, faith in the liberal arts as the ablest agents of intellectual discipline.

This comparative study of the New England colleges is a model of what can be done in a scholarly way with a group of colleges selected according to a certain sense of inner logic; it reveals the advantage of looking in depth at a selected number of institutions, of investigating the pattern of similar experiences and their meaning. One contribution of this study should be its reminder to the general historian that even in "the age of the university" we remained a country of colleges. This book developed from a senior thesis in history at Amherst College.

Williams College FREDERICK RUDOLPH

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA. Edited by *John Braeman et al.* [Modern America, Number 1.] ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 287. $6.25.)

IN the last several years the outpouring of scholarly papers on the United States in the twentieth century has exceeded the publication capacity of the historical

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journals. Furthermore there has been no suitable medium for papers of merit, sixty to ninety pages long, that are too short to appear as separate monographs and too long for the journals. As an answer to these problems, the American historians at Ohio State University plan to publish annual collections of some consistency in theme, in book form, under the over-all title "Modern America." The first of these volumes impressively inaugurates the series. It contains seven papers ranging in length from eighteen to sixty-four pages, and in subject matter from "The Emergence of America as a World Power" to "Poverty in Perspective." Since to some extent each of the essays treats the relationship between tradition and innovation, they are as cohesive as most groups of papers presented at historical association meetings. In any event their interrelationship is of minor consequence; what is significant is the ready availability of these thoughtful papers, each of which deals with a broad, important topic. They merit a wide audience.

In the lead paper, Richard W. Leopold rather briefly supports his contention that "In 1920, as in 1898, the average citizen thought the United States could be a world power and still adhere to the practices of an earlier day." He follows his interpretive remarks with a meticulously analytic ten-page bibliographic essay. Two lengthy research papers follow. John Braeman, in "The Square Deal in Action: A Case Study in the Growth of the 'National Police Power,'" treats in forty-five pages the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act in the Theodore Roosevelt administration. He cites with approval the contemporary view of Senator Beveridge that Congress would not have acted "if Roosevelt had not picked up his big stick and smashed the packers over the head with it and their agents in the House and Senate." William Leuchtenburg, in his sixty-four-page discussion of "The New Deal and the Analogue of War," cites an impressive array of manuscript sources in support of his contention that the early New Deal was based to a remarkable degree, both in its precedents and spirit, upon the American experience in the First World War. Leuchtenburg regards this analogue as being in some respects "either treacherous or inadequate." Richard S. Kirkendall, in a closely related paper, "The Great Depression: Another Watershed in American History?" argues that the New Deal was more important for its fulfilling of precedents than its innovations. Kirkendall dislikes the word "watershed" (which I would unrepentantly use), but points to the significant shifts in American capitalism, long under way, that became established in the New Deal. Arthur M. Johnson continues much the same theme in "Continuity and Change in Government-Business Relations," carrying his interpretation to the present. Johnson also discusses the degree to which businessmen are forced to take the government into account in their decision making. In a close analysis of "The Emergence of Mass-Production Unionism," David Brody describes the vicissitudes during the New Deal and the final triumph during the Second World War. And finally, in an overview ranging from the late nineteenth century to the present, Robert H. Bremner points to the way in which each generation has announced the discovery, in rather similar terms, of the persistence of poverty.

Harvard University FRANK FREIDEL

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THE PRESIDENT AS WORLD LEADER. By *Sidney Warren*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1964. Pp. xii, 480. $6.95.)

WHEN we think of the President of the United States, we think of him as chief executive, as commander in chief, as head of his party, as the antagonist or ally, as the case may be, of Congress and the Supreme Court, as the representative of the nation in its relations with other nations, as the awakener and educator of the national will. And it is in such terms that the different functions of the presidency have been subjected to scholarly analysis. No one has undertaken to analyze per se the function of the President as the molder of American foreign policy. Nor has anyone systematically looked at the President as "world leader." The reasons are not far to seek.

The predominant role that certain Presidents have played from Washington onward in the formation of American foreign policy and that certain recent American Presidents have played in world affairs is not inherent in the presidential office itself. The Constitution does not tell us where the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of American foreign policy lies. In so far as certain Presidents have assumed that responsibility, they have done so by taking advantage of the nature of foreign policy, which requires unified direction and, hence, lends itself to executive rather than legislative determination. They have filled a vacuum that they were best qualified to fill. Thus it is the conjunction between objective opportunity and the ability to avail oneself of that opportunity that is responsible for the predominance of certain Presidents in the conduct of American foreign policy. And it is the conjunction between this factor and the recent world-wide interests and predominant power of the United States that is responsible for the assumption of world leadership by certain recent Presidents.

Thus it is not by accident that Professor Warren's book really amounts to a history of American foreign policy from Theodore Roosevelt to John F. Kennedy, with special emphasis upon the President's role. This book breaks new ground in looking at American foreign policy, as it were, through the eyes of a succession of American Presidents and assessing it in terms of their contribution. By doing this, it provides new insights into the interplay between personality and the objective factors of interest and power—the stuff of which foreign policy is made.

Warren presents an excellent historical narrative, well written and documented. His judgments are rather on the cautious side; he quotes, for instance, the criticism to which Roosevelt's and Hull's war diplomacy was subjected at the time, but rather seems to be inclined to give these statesmen the benefit of the doubt. This caution is probably the result of the lack of a conceptual framework from which the President's role as a world leader can be understood and assessed. The new concept that Warren has introduced into American diplomatic history, to be fully useful, requires such a framework. A historical narrative cannot provide it; it presupposes it. The need for the development of such a framework becomes fully obvious in the concluding chapter, "Paradoxes of Presidential Leadership." Here is a task for the author or someone else to perform.

University of Chicago HANS J. MORGENTHAU

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PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP OF PUBLIC OPINION. By *Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 370. $6.95.)

Mr. Cornwell, chairman of the political science department at Brown University, undertakes to describe the institutions through which Presidents since Theodore Roosevelt have attempted to reach their broad constituencies. The result is a fine, readable, reliable, well-balanced, carefully annotated summary of the development of techniques. But it falls well short of the promise of its title. Leadership is a reciprocal matter. Cornwell deals, as he carefully indicates in his introduction, almost exclusively with "the interaction between the President and the media, and . . . the mechanics of Executive Leadership of public opinion. . . ." He touches hardly at all the problem of response to leadership.

The period between Theodore Roosevelt and Hoover is handled with a series of chronological chapters. They are something of a disappointment, since, with little new source material, Cornwell is forced to retell a very old story. The years since 1933 are handled more analytically, with special emphasis given to the press conference, radio and television, and the operations of the presidential press secretary. The frequently fragmentary evidence is woven into a generally convincing, penetrating pattern. Yet there are difficulties. One lies in the research. Largely it has been in the secondary literature and the published memoirs, with supplements here and there from interviews and occasional letters. The major contribution from primary sources lies in Cornwell's careful analysis of the press conferences. But a deeper mining of the correspondence at Hyde Park and Independence might well have added both richer detail and new dimensions. Another problem lies in a considerable vagueness of conception and definition. Both "leadership" and "public opinion" remain imprecise concepts. Sometimes it is Congress, sometimes the amorphous general public that is discussed. There is less systematic analysis than one might expect at this point from political science, and there are many highly tentative speculations and broad generalizations from stray bits of evidence.

There is very little in this book that will be new to specialists in twentieth-century history. And there is much more to be done before a reasonably definitive study of his topic can be written. Yet the problem is difficult; the evidence is fragmentary and elusive. Cornwell has done an extremely useful job in bringing what there is of it into a focus that both clarifies and illuminates.

State University of New York, Binghamton Alfred B. Rollins, Jr.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. Volume I, POLITICAL EVANGELIST, 1860–1908. By *Paolo E. Coletta.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1964. Pp. x, 486. $6.50.)

Of the many who "also ran," no major political party candidate in American history continues to inspire literature more than the three-timer William Jennings Bryan. Controversial during his lifetime, he is still controversial. Forty years ago a radio announcement of his passing moved the Herricks to turn out a short-order eulogistic biography. Those like Mencken and Debs, who could find no redeeming qualities in Bryan, voiced quite opposite opinions. Then in 1928 Long sought to strike a balance in the first respected biography. Hibben (1929), Werner (1929),

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Williams (1936), and Rosser (1937) followed with efforts of their own—all of them, except Werner, partial to Bryan. Book-length biographies ceased, but not analyses. Within the present generation favorable judgments, whether from Commager or Glad, have been pitted against harsher views, especially those from Hofstadter, Woodcock, and, more recently, Hollingsworth. Now, after long and diligent digging into sources, past and contemporary, Paolo E. Coletta offers the first half of a two-volume biography. It is a solid contribution of threefold merit.

First, it is based on a thorough and critical examination of published and unpublished material, including private papers of the late Ruth Bryan Rohde and numerous items that Commager had assembled for a projected study of Bryan. Skillfully using these materials, Coletta furnishes fresh insights into The Commoner's upbringing, character, and activities. He also sets forth the latest knowledge on myths and moot points, such as Bryan's financial affiliation with the silver mining interests.

Second, it presents in a positive and sympathetic manner a Bryan eminently worthy of large-scale treatment. Not that Coletta ignores or minimizes Bryan's limitations; he finds him, for instance, sectional and agrarian rather than national in general outlook, fairly commonplace in ideas, not widely read, not notably realistic, and lacking a scientific mind. But he places Bryan against his background and times, seeing him in the light of historical development and not solely through Scopes trial glasses. Even as a fledgling congressman, he stresses, Bryan began to see political and economic questions as a preacher and moralist, and this tendency became dominant. Loving people too, he sought to change them as a missionary might, leading them to righteousness. He thus evolved into a "political evangelist." For eighteen years he struggled to weld the Democratic party to progressive reform. Save for temporary failure in 1904 he succeeded, to the point of earning the historic backing of the AFL in 1908. By "keeping the faith" he prepared the party to legislate constructively after its victory in 1912. In addition to appraising Bryan as a prophet of progressivism, Coletta underscores his "right" stand on colonialism, the Philippines, and peace.

Third, this volume weighs criticisms of Bryan. Was he backward looking and negative in approach? Coletta admits to partial truth here. Nevertheless he insists, contrary to those who depict Bryan in a state of arrested development after 1896, that he did subsequently support new ideas, anti-imperialism being one. He shows him initiating as well as advocating progressive proposals. He shows him exerting influence not only nationally (most T. Roosevelt reform ideas by 1908 "were Bryanite in character") but also on local and state levels. It was the adoption of Bryan's many suggestions that helped make the 1907 Oklahoma constitution "the most progressive in the nation."

Not everyone may be convinced by this biography, though the author makes a good case for Bryan. A few readers, too, may wish that more had been made of personal information, like the verbal thrusts between Thomas B. Reed and young Bryan or the intense newspaper abuse of Bryan and Mrs. Bryan during the 1896 campaign. There is, however, some good portraiture, particularly of Bryan's father whose strong character is carefully delineated. There are also occasional gems, among them a reported 1896 poll of Sing Sing revealing that most inmates

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favored Bryan. The avoidance of tiring detail is admirable, and nowhere better than in the account of the 1904 Democratic Convention where the ailing Bryan battled for platform and prestige. This volume whets the appetite for Volume II in which Coletta promises to deal with Bryan "as a declining political power, as secretary of state, prohibitionist, and Fundamentalist Puritan."

City College of New York JOSEPH A. BOROMÉ

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN: THE LAST DECADE, 1915–1925. By *Lawrence W. Levine.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 386. $7.50.)

THE last decade of William Jennings Bryan's life seems a contradiction in his career, the sad spectacle of an honest man in decline. He is usually ridiculed as a champion of reaction in religion, social conduct, and politics. Lawrence W. Levine questions and tries to clarify this stereotype by using the man and his ideas to illuminate the larger problems that dominated the years between 1915 and 1925. In this admirable book, Levine corrects many errors and is eminently fair to his protagonist and his ideas while legitimately questioning both. Many readers will be surprised to find that The Commoner was not a religious bigot, but argued like several million other Americans that the Christian viewpoint should be heard and protected if necessary by law. His stand on political issues in these years has often been distorted or forgotten. He had a logical view on entry into World War I. He favored accepting the League of Nations with reservations, a more sensible approach than Wilson's. He steadfastly attacked reactionary government in assaults on Republican tax policies, anticonservation drives, tariff raising, and antilabor activities in the 1920's. He tried to keep alive the tone of progressive political thinking in a decade that had spurned his type of leader.

Levine clearly demonstrates that a few basic themes unified Bryan's whole career and that he departed from the pattern of his youth only in emphasis in his last years. He believed in democracy, or simple majority rule. This inevitably opened the way to oppressive as well as progressive policies and attitudes. He thought man perfectible and progress automatic in a religious society if people were politically conscious and held fast to stable traditional beliefs. He thus championed social Christianity and defended much of fundamentalism without seeing any contradiction. He thought America should set an example that other nations would follow and naïvely advocated arbitration and disarmament. Believing that all great issues were moral, he found religion more useful than politics in the 1920's, but he was not intolerant. Believing society's evils man-made, he opposed the liquor traffic and evolutionist doctrine as artificial bars to normal progress. These attitudes combined with his personality and talents to make him a powerful public figure, but they also marked the boundaries of his growth and perception. He was never systematic enough in his thought to face new conditions with new ideas, or to understand and sympathize with the problems of an urban-industrial country.

Scholars will probably always question most of Bryan's views on social and religious issues, but this should not minimize his significance or the need to see

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the man and his ideas in their proper context. In this well-researched and provocative account, the author sympathizes with Bryan while honestly challenging many of his beliefs and actions. This is a necessary attitude, and we need more such books.

University of Texas H. Wayne Morgan

THE SEATTLE GENERAL STRIKE. By *Robert L. Friedheim*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. 224. $5.00.)

Detailed study of an industrial dispute, especially one as significant as the brief but explosive 1919 Seattle general strike, is justified if it tells more than the event's internal history. Labor relations experts specialize in sorting out the internal "factors." Labor historians should do this and more: they should place the conflict in its particular social setting and especially its historical context. Friedheim's monograph contains much useful data and some rather dubious analysis of the conflict itself, but fails to deal adequately with its larger external and historical significance.

Certain parts of this study deserve attention. Friedheim argues that the absence of "stated goals" doomed the general strike; he is strongest in explaining the complex structure of the Seattle labor movement, the roles of US Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation, the shipyard strike that led to the general strike, and the general strike together with its immediate local and national consequences. Contemporary strike myths are abandoned and an acid portrait drawn of Seattle's incredible mayor, Ole Hansen. Friedheim intelligently disentangles the Seattle Central Labor Council's factions, making much of the "progressive" leadership in explaining the strike's causes and failure. The best materials come from local newspapers, Shipping Board manuscripts, interviews with living participants, and especially the University of Washington Papers on Industrial Espionage. Friedheim demonstrates quite well that a careful scholar can distill much useful data from industrial spy reports.

But three weaknesses seriously limit this book's usefulness. A dull, repetitive style strains the reader. At crucial points, furthermore, Friedheim relies on unsubstantiated social science jargon and obscuring generalizations. Finally, the altogether too brief summary of the historic background of Pacific Northwest labor discontent and the Seattle social and economic structure in particular impairs the entire work. Why, in that era, a general strike occurred only in Seattle and indigenous radicalism hung on tenaciously in that region cannot be explained by studying only a single event—even a general strike. In this connection, Friedheim's failure to consult William Preston's significant *Aliens and Dissenters* (1963), especially Chapter VI ("A Winter in Seattle"), is gravely disappointing. Preston's work is essential for drawing conclusions about Friedheim's book and the Seattle general strike itself.

State University of New York, Buffalo Herbert G. Gutman

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F.D.R. AND THE SOUTH. By *Frank Freidel.* [The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 102. $3.25.)

PROFESSOR Freidel's thesis in this series of lectures is that Franklin D. Roosevelt was a prime agent in releasing forces of change that have led to the recasting of a newer South. As a result, many southern political leaders developed an embarrassing ambivalence toward Roosevelt and the New Deal. Their region was so desperate for economic assistance that these southerners sought federal aid. "Yet," as Freidel observes, "the New Deal inevitably threatened to upset the status quo and alter some of the cherished institutions upon which they fervently believed the very existence of Southern civilization depended." Senator Carter Glass was one leader who saw the threat to white supremacy that was implicit in the New Deal, and he fought the President from the outset.

With southerners in charge of the key congressional committees, Roosevelt resisted northern pressure for support of a federal antilynching law. Beyond the political question involved, Freidel states that it is not clear how interested the President was in altering patterns of segregation and discrimination. What he did do, however, was to "back economic changes to improve the lot of the underprivileged, white and black alike, which did lead to a change in the status of the Negro." And he encouraged emerging young liberals, including Lyndon B. Johnson, to develop the South of the future. These men are what they are today, Freidel contends, "because of the new opportunities and changes that President Roosevelt initiated in the South." These important tidbits are provocative and need further exploration. It is to be hoped that Freidel will expand them in his forthcoming biography of Roosevelt.

University of Chicago WALTER JOHNSON

THE RELUCTANT BELLIGERENT: AMERICAN ENTRY INTO WORLD WAR II. By *Robert A. Divine.* [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. xi, 172. Cloth $4.95, paper $1.95.)

THIS volume, by the editor of the series, is one of eight designed to deal with "critical periods relating to American involvement in foreign war. . . ." Based on printed and largely official materials, it leans heavily on the monographs of Herbert Feis and of William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, though it is somewhat more overtly critical of administration policy than these authors. Succeeding chapters deal in thoroughly straightforward fashion with the national mood of the 1930's, the neutrality legislation, the American reaction to developing world crisis, the rude awakening to European war, the shift to partisanship toward Britain, and the final descent into conflict. Ten excellent maps and a list of suggestions for further reading complete what will become a useful tool for those unable to explore the literature in depth.

The book is in considerable measure a chronicle of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in relation to the foreign policy opportunities of his day, viewed through the refraction of that hindsight which is at once the historian's privilege and his peril. It shows the President and the nation alike following, somewhat ingloriously, a

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reactive rather than a positive policy, and falling together into the trough of isolationism. It exhibits the President, often overcautious and vacillating, occasionally shrewd and even devious, but seldom bold and usually unwilling to assume the burden of leading the nation along an affirmative and correspondingly dangerous path. It shows him, within this ambiguous framework, pursuing policies that raised clear issues of peace and war in both Atlantic and Pacific, but leaving the ultimate decision to the potential enemy. The net result is labeled a "policy sterile and bankrupt in a period of grave international crisis."

The author argues persuasively the naïveté of both President and nation in the 1930's. While not entirely gainsaying the argument, it may perhaps be suggested, alternatively, that the period be viewed as one of transition between the complacent self-containment of the 1920's and the war-born assumption of world responsibility of later decades. Perhaps, in this longer perspective, the author's argument for greater sophistication may be considered a counsel of perfection.

Seton Hall University L. Ethan Ellis

FROM THE MORGENTHAU DIARIES: YEARS OF URGENCY, 1938–1941. By *John Morton Blum*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1965. Pp. xi, 443. $7.50.)

Readers of the *Review* know of the unique "Morgenthau Diaries" utilized for the first volume of Mr. Blum's series (*AHR*, LXVI [Jan. 1961], 482); here are three more years, again a synthesis of the friendly collaboration so enjoyed by both men. Says the historian of the Secretary, "continually engaged in the making of this book, he provided much of its spirit." Occasionally suggesting modifications of phraseology, but asking for no deletions whatsoever, Morgenthau enabled the collaboration to remain committed to as full a record as could be achieved in these 395 pages of narrative.

Limiting this second volume to the period between Munich and Pearl Harbor, Blum opens with problems preceding the invasion of Poland. Domestic affairs of the recession show that the Secretary repeatedly accommodated his conservative economic predilections to his instinct for compassion; compassion, coupled with a strong sense of challenge, often animated Morgenthau's policies on domestic and foreign affairs. Here strong disagreements arose between President and Secretary on taxation, in the midst of Morgenthau's obvious enjoyment of ramifications far beyond administrative routines. Compassion broadened into deep concern for the strengthening of China against Japan and France against Germany. Moving faster and farther than most congressional opinion, Morgenthau accepted the challenge, inventing executive devices for skirting congressional intentions. As he gave "more of his time and much more of his anguish to foreign and military policies," he became heavily involved in interdepartmental rivalries for presidential endorsement. He told a 1939 Senate committee: "the Treasury backyard is big enough for me. I am very, very careful not to go over to somebody else's territory, and when I do I only do it on written instructions."

His problem was to get the instructions, and this book shows when he got them. As the onset of actual war in Europe increased the number of countries

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whose needs the Secretary aimed to meet, his reach extended yet further, to the anger of the Secretary of State, moving Morgenthau to tell Welles: "I will never forget the tongue lashings I have had from Mr. Hull about how I want to run his department and the sarcasm and everything else." There are new details on struggles in Washington and abroad over supplies and their financing, over such devices as the destroyer deal and lend-lease. Very revealing is the day-to-day piecemeal fumbling, in personal and group conferences, between Americans and foreigners angling for answers. Here is the gentleman-farmer, who had spent eleven years publishing the *American Agriculturist* before Roosevelt catapulted him into a zenith of self-fulfillment, having close contacts with national and international leaders. Small wonder that he was a compulsive recorder, with verbatim devices on his telephone and in his conference room. They enlarge the angle of vision of the reader of this biographical history. When Blum has finished peering through the Morgenthau microscope, he may contribute even further to recent historiography through a yet broader angle of vision. Meanwhile, we can be grateful for his able handling of the multitudinous materials assigned to him.

University of Pennsylvania JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

SCHOOLS IN AN AGE OF MASS CULTURE: AN EXPLORATION OF SELECTED THEMES IN THE HISTORY OF TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN EDUCATION. By *Willis Rudy*. [Prentice-Hall Education Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 374. $6.95.)

Schools in an Age of Mass Culture brings together a number of informative essays on the recent history of American education. Professor Rudy makes no effort to be comprehensive; he deals with such varied topics as the origins of mental testing; the child study movement; the professionalizing of school administration; the development of extracurricular activities; the struggle over racial segregation; the relations of church, state, and school; the conflict between elitists and equalitarians; the assessment of American schooling by foreign observers; and the "cold war" between progressive educators and their critics. If there is a leitmotiv, it is "the complicated adjustment of an elaborate system of public schools at all levels of learning to the demands, not just of an enduring democratic tradition, but also of an all-inclusive mass culture."

Quite appropriately, Rudy eschews grand themes in his work, preferring instead to develop a variety of perspectives on certain key educational issues that have long been debated by Americans (however new they may seem to those who have just discovered them). Also, one might add, his work is mercifully free of the careless anachronism that so frequently marks the "problem approach." Rudy's own commitment is essentially Jeffersonian; he sees no contradiction in an education system that affords "a fair chance for every person to develop his capacities to the uttermost and an equal chance for all to compete for society's positions of creative leadership." Yet, for this very reason, it seems to me, he might have been more precise in his use of the concept "mass culture" and more critical in his discussion of the voluminous sociological literature that deals with it; for, despite his title, the whole idea of mass culture remains somewhat ephemeral in Rudy's

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analysis, and he never really comes to grips with its inherent attack on the Jeffersonian ideal. Be that as it may, the essays are often provocative and always abundantly documented, and they will no doubt prove useful to students of twentieth-century America.

Columbia University LAWRENCE A. CREMIN

DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT, 1963. [United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Publication 24.] ([Washington, D. C.:] the Agency; distrib. by Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1964. Pp. xv, 740. $2.00.)

CONTINUING its annual publication of documents on disarmament, the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency again makes a valuable contribution to current history. Under the general supervision of Charles R. Gellner, chief of the Reference Research Staff, Robert W. Lambert, with the assistance of Ruth Ihara, has made an excellent selection and annotation of some 130 items—letters, news conference remarks, statements by national leaders and negotiators, addresses, working papers, UN resolutions, reports, laws, and treaties—for inclusion. Many readers undoubtedly will be disappointed to find nothing new here. This is no specialized equivalent of *Foreign Relations of the United States*. Everything included already has been published elsewhere. Yet it is useful to have all this material brought together for convenient reference. The chronological arrangement of the items gives a sense of the impact of the times, and then a topical listing, together with a fairly complete index, facilitates topical reference.

Already, as one reads the letters and statements of John F. Kennedy and Nikita Khrushchev, these pages carry a nostalgic ring of an earlier age. Still, as one reflects on the problems raised and discussed here, the contemporary relevance of these statements rushes back.

In spite of appearances of a cooperative attitude in the beginning, disarmament negotiations for the first several months of 1963 seemed as unrewarding as ever. Then came a series of achievements that made the year a memorable one: in June, the agreement for establishing the "hot line" communications link between Moscow and Washington; in August, the limited Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty; and in October, adoption by acclamation of a resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations calling upon all nations to refrain from putting nuclear weapons in orbit around the earth. Meanwhile negotiations to extend the test ban to underground explosions and to seek ways for general arms control and disarmament continued.

In all these efforts the activities of the ACDA were calculated to assure the best possible background for US policy and negotiations. It is a major function of the agency to coordinate and undertake research on scores of questions. Of the $6,500,000 that Congress appropriated for the fiscal year 1963, nearly $4,000,000 was for research. Some of the research is done by the agency itself, or by other government agencies, but much goes through contracts or grants to private companies, nonprofit research organizations, universities, and individuals.

Purdue University JAMES A. HUSTON

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A HISTORY OF CANADA. Volume II, FROM THE ROYAL RÉGIME TO THE TREATY OF UTRECHT, 1663–1713. By *Gustave Lanctot.* Translated by *Margaret M. Cameron.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 289. $6.75.)

THIS second volume of the former Dominion Archivist's useful three-volume history of the French regime is concerned with the period of colonization, as the first was with the foundation of the colony and the third will be with the period of its expansion. It is an admirably concise and straightforward account, based on contemporary documents and the most recent scholarship, which clarifies many matters left vague by earlier romantic historians more concerned with the heroic aspects than the daily life of New France. Its emphasis on economic, political, and social developments is a valuable contribution.

The main outlines of Dr. Lanctot's chronological narrative are familiar enough, but he draws upon fresh materials to illuminate such controversial matters as the conflicts between Church and state, between governor and intendant, and between colonial necessities and imperial policy. He manages to provide fresh, brief treatments of immigration and the fur trade, and he uses the few available statistics effectively to illustrate the colony's development and its fundamentally unsound economy. Even specialists in the period can profit from this book, while the English-speaking reader unfamiliar with New France will obtain a far clearer picture than is available elsewhere, and a more balanced and critical one. *Mirabile dictu,* this French-Canadian historian can bring himself to refer to New England's and New York's "just resentment for the cruel Franco-Indian raids." Acadia and Newfoundland receive notably adequate attention, instead of being regarded as peripheral to the story of the colony on the St. Lawrence. There is some enlightening documentation in the appendixes, and a good bibliography.

While this book, like the earlier volume in the series, has so much to recommend it, it is not as well written and engrossing as the previous accounts that it supplants. The author has also not been particularly well served by his translator or the Canadian printers. The reader stumbles over references to the Indians' "errant life," to "marines" (for *troupes de la Marine,* the colonial regulars), to the Jesuits' "precious" diplomatic activity, and to "valiance" in the face of enemies. The Lorette and St. Augustin rioters of 1714 were surely armed with muskets, not "rifles," and it was the former weapon that the Indians obtained in Orange for two beaver and in Montreal for five. There are numerous typographical errors, including a reference to a map in the "Depôt de la Marue," which suggest that the Toronto printers and proofreaders have not yet risen to the challenge of bilingualism and biculturalism as successfully as the author.

University of Western Ontario MASON WADE

L'AMÉRIQUE ANGLO-SAXONNE DE 1815 À NOS JOURS. By *Claude Fohlen.* ["Nouvelle Clio": L'histoire et ses problèmes, Number 43.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. 374. 20 fr.)

THIS is an intelligently conceived and well-organized introduction to contemporary thinking and writing about United States and Canadian history since 1815.

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The author, who has written extensively and in popular fashion about industrial and labor topics, has undertaken the formidable task of making Frenchmen more aware of the nuances of historical interpretation in American history. The book is divided into three parts: an extensive introductory bibliography, a sketch of North American history since 1815, and a longer discussion of debates among historians and the direction of recent research. Although much of what he writes is well known to historians in this country, the discussion is ably conducted, objective in tone, and based on a careful selection of titles.

He begins his sketch in Part II with an overview of the North American continent in 1815, relying on Henry Adams' classic work for his treatment of the United States. He proceeds to a discussion of democracy on the march (1815–1848), the sectional conflict, the Gilded Age and progressive periods, and "the age of global responsibilities." Throughout he stresses political, territorial, and economic developments, with only scant attention to social and cultural affairs.

In the final historiographical section of the book the author arranges his material about six major topics. He begins with the political crises of the nineteenth century, notably over Jacksonianism, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. The review of the quarrel among historians over the nature of Jacksonian democracy is particularly able. He compares the debate on the causes of the Civil War with that over the origins of the French Revolution, though he feels that the American argument is more clouded with emotional feeling and political attitudes. Also in this section he discusses writing about the South, the reform impulse, the problem of economic growth, the nature of American industrial society, and the frontier theory of American institutions. Interestingly enough, even here the author maintains a neutral viewpoint and offers no conclusions of his own. It is doubtful whether an American historian in the same circumstances could resist the temptation to enter the lists for or against Turner! All in all, the author is to be commended for a careful review of an extensive body of historiographical literature within a relatively brief compass.

University of Cincinnati THOMAS N. BONNER

THE SAN JUAN WATER BOUNDARY QUESTION. By *James O. McCabe.* [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 5.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1964. Pp. 163. $4.75.)

THIS is a study of a minor boundary dispute that troubled Anglo-American relations for a quarter of a century. The controversy over the San Juan Water Boundary arose out of inadequate cartographic and geographical knowledge by the negotiators of the Oregon Treaty of 1846. The United States insisted that Haro Strait (nearest Vancouver Island) was intended as the correct channel of demarcation, while Great Britain claimed Rosario Strait (nearest the mainland). Realizing the strategic importance of the islands guarding the entrance to Puget Sound, both countries laid claim to San Juan. A mixed commission was appointed in 1857; it reached a stalemate despite the efforts of the British commissioner who offered a compromise middle channel. A crisis was precipitated in 1859 when the Americans occupied San Juan, but fortunately was ameliorated when General

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Winfield Scott arranged for the joint occupation of the island. The American Civil War delayed negotiation until 1868–1869 when the Johnson-Clarendon Convention proposed arbitration, but antagonism aroused by the *Alabama* claims and the North Atlantic fisheries resulted in its rejection by the American Senate. Although the British resolved to take no further action, the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War necessitated a settlement of Anglo-American differences. At the ensuing Joint High Commission at Washington in 1871 it was agreed to submit the question of the San Juan Water Boundary to arbitration by the German Emperor. Acting upon the advice of three "experts," he declared that Haro Channel was the "most direct, and deepest channel" and awarded the islands to the United States. Mr. McCabe is critical of the British Foreign Office for agreeing to the exclusion of the middle channel from the arbitration and believes that a more adamant foreign policy could have succeeded. The British offer of the middle channel early in the dispute was interpreted by Americans as a lack of faith by the British in their claim to Rosario Strait.

The author has made extensive use of British source materials, which brings both new information and interpretation to an old problem. While he has used printed United States documents, he has not examined the manuscript depositories in this country. Despite this he shows a remarkable understanding of and sensitivity to American history, illustrating particularly well the interplay of British colonialism and American expansionism.

University of Kentucky Ross A. Webb

THE CRITICAL YEARS: THE UNION OF BRITISH NORTH AMERICA, 1857–1873. By *W. L. Morton*. [The Canadian Centenary Series. A History of Canada, Volume XII.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 322. $8.50.)

This book, the fourth of seventeen to be published in "The Canadian Centenary Series," describes the dangerous and decisive years between 1857 and 1873 in the history of British North America. The author, executive editor of the new series and provost of University College in the University of Manitoba, begins with a description of the complex events, regional interests, conflicting issues, and political and economic pressures that defeated the first Canadian attempts to unite the British North American colonies. He then shows the rising importance of problems of colonial defense, the threats to peace resulting from the *Trent* Affair, the increase of British garrisons in British North America, the British insistence that the Canadians take more steps to defend themselves, and the conclusions of many men that if the colonies of British North America did not unite they might not survive.

In these tumultuous and troubled years there were numerous debates and discussions about many hard and heavy problems: the building of the Intercolonial Railway, communications between the eastern provinces and the northwestern lands and distant British Columbia, the rights and claims of the Hudson's Bay Company, the rise and fall of weak and divided colonial governments, the evident failure of the colonies to cooperate without political union.

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Political union was soon to come. With remarkable skill, Morton describes the Charlottetown Conference of September 1864, the Quebec Conference of October, the slow defeat of the men opposed to Confederation, the birth of the Dominion of Canada when the British North America Act came into effect on July 1, 1867, the difficult years of national consolidation before 1873. In the foreground are the fathers of Confederation, the dramatic events of the conferences, and the years of stress that followed the passage of the British North America Act. In the background are the battling political parties in the colonies of British North America, economic depression in the Maritime Provinces, moderate prosperity in the central and western regions. There are also the fears of annexation by the United States, the need for improved communications, the dreams and doubts of French Canada, the strong undercurrents of thought and feeling in the different parts of British North America.

The author has performed a difficult task with a keen eye and a deft hand. To keep so many themes and thrusts in proportion, to combine them in their correct dimensions, demands the shrewdness and skill of a craftsman. Morton is to be praised for his knowledge and accuracy, his controlled and sensible prose, balanced judgments, sifting skills, and sharp awareness of what the important questions are. It may be that his conclusions about the Cartier-Macdonald government will not be accepted by all historians. Perhaps he has been too gentle in his description of Sir John A. Macdonald's part in the Pacific Scandal. In any event, *The Critical Years* is a significant and valuable book, an excellent example of the work of one of Canada's master historians.

Wayne State University GOLDWIN SMITH

CANADA'S NATIONAL POLICY, 1883–1900: A STUDY IN CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By *Robert Craig Brown*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 436. $9.00.)

R. CRAIG Brown's monograph on the relations of Canada and the United States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century provides an interesting illustration of a historical truism: that each generation needs its own interpretation of the past. The problems on which he focuses this study—the North Atlantic fisheries dispute, the Bering Sea affair, Canadian-American trade relations, and the Alaska boundary negotiations—have all received much attention from other authors. But the last full, scholarly account of the relations of the two countries with comparable, though more extensive coverage, that of C. C. Tansill, was published more than twenty years ago. Since that time, new documentary collections, official and unofficial, have been opened to scholars, and a considerable number of monographs, articles, and theses have been written on this period of Canada's external affairs. The use of new sources has enabled Brown to give a better-rounded account of the pertinent crosscurrents of international politics than those of some of his predecessors. The valuable minutes of the Colonial Office documents of the 1890's, for example, used in conjunction with the papers of Salisbury, Chamberlain, and other government leaders of the time, give new perspectives on the Bering Sea controversy, and on the causes of the breakdown of the Joint High Com-

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mission of 1898. The book's bibliography provides a guide to recent as well as to some older writing on its subject, with an especially useful list of unpublished theses. It is not quite clear why the Foreign Office documents were not followed into the 1890's.

This book also reflects a change in the attitude of Canadians toward world affairs generally and toward the United States in particular. Tansill, writing when the two countries were partners in World War II, saw the disputes of the earlier period as family quarrels. He placed his emphasis on "the manner in which age-old controversies have been settled by peaceful procedures." Brown, after the stresses of the 1950's and early 1960's, considers his chosen problems as part of a Canadian National Policy to which he gives an unusually broad interpretation. This policy, he feels, was not just one of economic nationalism, concerned with the building of railways, with immigraton, settlement, and protective tariffs; it was the expression of a desire "to build and maintain a separate Canadian nation on the North American continent," a goal toward which all Canadian governments of the period were working. This theme, followed through, is well sustained and is illustrated not only with fresh quotations from little-used sources, but also by a number of amusing cartoons.

For the nonspecialist, one somewhat frustrating aspect of the study should be mentioned. The author's time limits present the reader with a number of continued stories, the ends of which he does not explore. A second volume carrying through to World War I would complete a significant reassessment of a trying period in the history of the countries concerned.

University of Maine ALICE R. STEWART

BARBADOS: A STUDY OF NORTH-AMERICAN-WEST-INDIAN RELATIONS, 1739–1789. By *David H. Makinson*. [Studies in American History, Number 3.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1964. Pp. 142. Glds. 22.)

THIS is a disappointing book, with little that is fresh to offer. Its title is misleading, for much of the volume strays far from the subject of relations between Barbados and North America. In general the author examines economic and strategic factors in Barbadian history, without assuming full responsibility for either field. Based largely on the Colonial Office records, the work ignores a number of important studies, including *The Economic Geography of Barbados,* by Otis P. Starkey. There are an unfortunate number of references to an unpublished book by the author. It is possible that Mr. Makinson's evidence would have supported a good article; it does not suffice to sustain even a small book.

University of Texas J. HARRY BENNETT

ATTACK AND COUNTERATTACK: THE TEXAS-MEXICAN FRONTIER, 1842. By *Joseph Milton Nance*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 750. $8.50.)

THIS exasperating book is, in many respects, a credit to its author and publisher: well researched, written in a lively style, handsomely printed with footnotes

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where they belong, and illustrated with detailed (although cluttered) maps. The series of volumes, of which it is the second, deals with a reasonably important subject: the border warfare between Texas and Mexico that dominated the history of both countries for nearly a decade and complicated American efforts to annex Texas. Yet the book suffers from one all-consuming flaw, a case of advanced elephantiasis.

Whereas the first volume in the series at least covered a five-year period, this one records in minute detail the seesaw skirmishes of a single year. It was, to be sure, a critical year in Texas-Mexican relations during which both sides launched abortive invasions, and it almost ended Mexican efforts to reconquer the revolted province. Nevertheless, the basic outlines of the story would be much clearer if at least half of the details were left out. Both author and publisher must share the responsibility for yielding to a kind of tenderheartedness that every scholar feels at some time in his life, the reluctance to throw away research notes. Examples of unnecessary minutiae abound throughout: half-page biographical footnotes (in small print) on persons mentioned only two or three times in the whole book; long-winded anecdotes; two and a half pages of quoted denials that Sam Houston was too fond of liquor; more than a page of quotation from a prolix dispatch of Daniel Webster, which is already available in print; a two-page table of the number and value of pieces of cloth seized from Mexican troops; and, at the end, sixty-three pages of muster rolls. Professor Nance has left out only one thing that I can think of: an analysis of the domestic situation in Mexico, which made Texas such a burning question as late as 1842. In summary, this volume is more a chronicle than a history, and it will appeal primarily to readers living between the Red River and the Rio Grande.

Indiana University DAVID M. PLETCHER

THE PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. By *Sinclair Snow*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 159. $5.50.)

THE subtitle of this work could well have been "Studies in Frustration," for no matter how sympathetic Professor Snow is to his subject of Samuel Gompers and his efforts to establish a viable Pan-American Federation of Labor, the message is quite clear: that PAFL, for which Gompers had such high hopes, proved something less than a resounding success. Snow has admirably ferreted out the available information on this little-known episode in international labor organization, and his presentation is clear and concise though not particularly exciting. In essence this is the story of Gompers' attempts to establish, partly as a World War I pro-Allied effort and partly as a bona fide labor organization, a federation of labor unions in the American republics. But as an international union the movement scarcely got off the ground, was never representative of South American labor organizations, and was always dominated by a combination of the Mexican CROM and the United States AFL. As long as Gompers was the leader—that he dominated the proceedings is perfectly clear—the organization seemed to have a kind of potential vitality, but with his death in late 1924 the PAFL soon became moribund and finally died after lingering, inactive, until 1941.

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This presentation makes little attempt at interpretation, recounting events as they appear in the extensive documentary sources consulted by Snow, and this slavish devotion to documents has led the author into some questionable conclusions. In short, Snow has fallen into one of the most insidious traps imperiling the historian; he has seen the PAFL through the hopeful and optimistic eyes of the participants, crediting it with successes that in fact it never attained. One example: In 1923 and again in 1927 the PAFL protested to the United States government against US policy in Nicaragua; in each instance the protest was shortly followed by a change in policy, leaving the reader with the impression that the PAFL played a crucial role. In his conclusions, in fact, Snow says that "it must be recognized that it [PAFL] contributed much to the victory of the Nicaraguan liberals in the 1924 presidential election. . . ." But even the evidence Snow used scarcely leads to such a conclusion. In reality a perfectly good account of the entire Nicaraguan situation could be written, without violence to truth, without ever mentioning the PAFL—and I rather suspect Snow should be perfectly well aware of it.

Michigan State University CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND

UN LETRADO DEL SIGLO XVIII, EL DOCTOR JOSÉ PERFECTO DE SALAS. In two volumes. By *Ricardo Donoso*. Foreword by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani," Numbers 105 and 106.] ([Buenos Aires:] Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. [1963.] Pp. 542; 551–821.)

EL DOCTOR JOSÉ BARROS PAZOS EN LA PATRIA Y EN EL EXILIO (1808–1877). By *María Celina Barros y Arana*. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani," Number 107.] ([Buenos Aires:] Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. [1963.] Pp. 328.)

THE two volumes by the Chilean historian Ricardo Donoso, in the long-lived and esteemed series of historical publications issued by the *Instituto de Historia Argentina,* are disappointing on several counts. The work fails as biography: the character and career of Salas, a royal colonial official whose highest post was that of *asesor* or principal legal adviser to Viceroy Manuel de Amat of Peru in the years 1761–1775, scarcely emerges from the welter of documents interspersed with text. Nor is the study valuable for its documents: they are for the most part routine administrative papers and insubstantial family letters concerning the bureaucratic progress and tribulations of Salas, who was finally removed from office by the crown and subjected to investigation.

The slight increment to historical knowledge provided by the work derives from the tangential inclusion of several long lists of books acquired in Europe by the Salas family and shipped to America despite the sporadic hostility of the Inquisition. Some information is thereby presented on the Enlightenment.

Perhaps unintentionally the two volumes of tedious prose impress on the reader the appallingly cumbersome, self-serving, and corrupt nature of the Spanish bureaucracy of the period. But with sharper focus, Donoso might have produced

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a lively biography of a wily and powerful royal official who died in exile before the completion of the crown's investigation of his career. (True to the system, Salas was absolved of the accusations against him.)

Barros Pazos was one of the group of civilian, liberal Argentine leaders who endowed the nation with its administrative structure after the fall of the dictator Rosas in 1852. Lawyer, teacher, rector of the University of Buenos Aires, and cabinet officer in several governments of the independent state-province of Buenos Aires in the 1850's, he climaxed his career with the post of chief justice of the supreme court of the nation, a position that he held for only one month before his death.

Despite its considerable devotional aspect, the monograph has several merits. It incorporates extensive family letters that provide details about the personalities, actions, and interrelations of the "generation of *proscriptos*" who organized the Argentine state. It underscores the surprising range of their intellectual concerns and preparation. It re-creates in a minor way the Victorian style of society of Buenos Aires after mid-century, with its tiny elite of people of good manners, a sense of duty, and considerable probity in public life.

Salas was a figure of the eighteenth-century imperial Spanish bureaucracy, a corrupt poseur in a decayed political system. Barros was a dedicated constitutional republican. The contrast between the careers of the two men shows a part of the substantial, and hopeful, variations within the Latin American historical experience.

University of Texas THOMAS F. MCGANN

EL PENSAMIENTO COLOMBIANO EN EL SIGLO XIX. By *Jaime Jaramillo Uribe*. (Bogotá: Editorial Temis. 1964. Pp. xvi, 464.)

PROFESSOR Jaramillo divides this study of nineteenth-century Colombian thought into three sections: the evaluation of the Spanish heritage and the spiritual orientation of the nation (Colombia); state, society, and the individual; philosophical thought from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. He follows a topical rather than a chronological order, which leads to some overlapping and repetition since the same thinkers are discussed under different headings. There is almost no biographical information concerning the figures whom Jaramillo has selected for his study.

Of the three topics noted above, I found the first to hold the most interest. The independence movement and the subsequent formation of new nations in Latin America made a re-evaluation of the Spanish inheritance necessary and also posed the problem of a new orientation for the emerging countries of the Hispanic American world. Bolívar was the first to face the question squarely, but his answers were too pessimistic to gain general acceptance. The generation of the independence movement and the one following submitted the Spanish legacy to a critical scrutiny, turning for political and ideological guidance away from Spain and toward England, France, and the United States. Among those of this second generation who expressed the basic dilemma of the new nations with great clarity was Rufino Cuervo. Cuervo insisted that a complete break with the past was fully

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as dangerous to a young nation as a condition of stagnating inaction. His goal was the preservation of the spiritual unity of Hispanic America with its foundations in the Spanish language and a common literary tradition. Here we come upon a nascent feeling of Latin American identity, the beginning of a sentiment later voiced so strongly by Rodó and Rubén Darío. This emotion was further enhanced when liberal thinkers like the brothers Samper applied Gobineau's ideas on race to the problems of Latin America. Gobineau's distinction between Latin and Anglo-Saxon people was used in a rather crude way to explain the political and cultural differences between Anglo-Saxon and Latin American settlements. This too points ahead to twentieth-century thought.

The second part of the book is less fruitful. Although Jaramillo assures us that the liberal concept of the state was dominant in Colombia during the past century, an objective reader will find little original thought spawned from the European and North American models on Colombian soil. Most of the discussion seemed to have taken place in a spiritual vacuum without reference to the Colombian reality, which presented for a period of eighty years a picture of chaotic vacillation between centralism and federalism. The only exception is, perhaps, the voice of Rafael Nuñez, who realized that in America as in Europe the mission of the state was to unify the nation and who proceeded to achieve this unity with his constitutional reform of 1886. Nuñez was also one of the few who acknowledged the ethnic variety and diversity of Latin America as one of the causes of its continuous discord and instability.

The third part of the book is by far the weakest, not because the author's effort had slackened, but because the material is unrewarding and refuses to yield significant results. Philosophical thought in Colombia depended on such European models as Bentham, Comte, and Balmes, and it is simply out of the question to treat the meager variations on the original themes as significant fruits of independent contemplation anticipating the ideas of Husserl or Scheler.

This study is a useful addition to the previous attempts to trace the ideological development of Latin America in the nineteenth century. If it does not measure up to the magnificent work of José Luis Romero, it is only because Colombian thought did not achieve the depth and width of such thinkers as Alberdi, Sarmiento, and Mitre.

Sweet Briar College GERHARD MASUR

COPIADOR DE ÓRDENES DEL REGIMIENTO DE MILICIAS DE INFANTERÍA DE SANTAFÉ (1810–1814): OJEADA HISTÓRICA, ESTADO MILITAR, TRANSCRIPCIÓN, ÍNDICES Y COMENTARIOS. By *Oswaldo Díaz Díaz*. [Departamento 5, Historia y Publicaciones, E. M. C.] ([Bogotá:] Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas. 1963. Pp. 352.)

AN incomplete and untitled journal found in the *Archivo de la Academia Colombiana de Historia* in Bogotá appears to be a book of orders of the original regiment of infantry of the militia of Santa Fe, with entries running from December 10, 1810, to July 2, 1814. While most of the pages deal with changes in command, disciplinary matters, and instructions for ceremonies, a few items of interest

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reflect social and political conditions. There is also some reflection of the pattern of military operations in the civil struggles of the *patria boba* period in the history of New Granada. A historical summary by the editor at the beginning of this book is helpful, though it is biased in favor of the revolutionists. His summary of the military state of Santa Fe in those years has some significance, and biographical and geographical indexes at the end of the book are useful. For the most part, however, this work is of interest only to antiquarians and genealogists.

New York University JOHN E. FAGG

CAUDILLISM AND MILITARISM IN VENEZUELA, 1810–1910. By *Robert L. Gilmore*. (Athens: Ohio University Press. 1964. Pp. vi, 211. $5.00.)

IN the United States, the study of force and violence became "respectable" as a field of scholarly endeavor following World War II, and within a short time militarism in most areas of the world had been brought under serious review. Latin America, however, was largely neglected until Professor Edwin Lieuwen published his *Arms and Politics in Latin America* (1960). That study, in its broad approach in terms of both time and space, set a pattern that in general has been followed in monographs and articles concerned with the involvement of the armed forces of the Latin American republics in essentially civilian matters. The approach was not only valid, given the state of our knowledge of the subject, but was probably useful in arousing the interest of scholars, public officials, and informed laymen. Still it was apparent that only with deep research on force and violence in individual countries would we gain the insights needed seriously to test, in the Latin American context, hypotheses that had been developed from research on other parts of the emerging world.

This study of caudillism and militarism in Venezuela represents an important step in the direction we must go. It is a welcome addition to Latin American historiography on a number of other scores. Professor Gilmore's long scholarly acquaintance with Venezuela comes through clearly, giving his study a ring of authority that too often is missing in monographs on that country. Military historians will find especially interesting the relatively long section devoted to caudillism, which Gilmore holds is quite distinct from that version of militarism known as the praetorian state. His case for distinguishing between caudillism and militarism is not as tightly argued as I would like to have seen, but it is more convincing than the one used by those who contend that caudillism is simply another form of militarism. But if the author's theoretical argumentation may be weak in spots, there is strength in his relating caudillism to provincialism and social and economic backwardness. Also in developing his account of caudillism and militarism Gilmore leaves no doubt that in nineteenth-century Venezuela it was not always the men in uniform who resorted to violence in order to achieve power, since civilians, too, were quick to take up arms in order to impose their will upon other civilians and upon the nation's regular armed forces as well. The background material on Venezuela's political evolution, although overdeveloped to the point that it at times obscures the central theme of this short volume, is commendable for its lucidity and objectivity.

Stanford University JOHN J. JOHNSON

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A PALMERSTONIAN DIPLOMAT IN CENTRAL AMERICA: FREDERICK CHATFIELD, ESQ. By *Mario Rodríguez*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1964. Pp. 385. $10.00.)

THANKS to the extensive research of Professor Rodríguez we are now made aware of the important role played in Central American affairs by Frederick Chatfield, who served for many years as British consul in that area. He arrived in Guatemala City in June 1834 and until his recall in 1852 was one of the most important men in Central America.

Chatfield was sent out with instructions to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Central American republic, but two important factors complicated his task. In the first place the republic was on the verge of disintegration, and here Rodríguez does a masterful job in describing the secession crisis in the federation. Chatfield, believing his country's interests would best be served by a loose confederation under English superintendence, supported the states' rights movement and worked with political factions in Nicaragua and Guatemala to oppose Morazán and El Salvador's attempt to foster Central American unity. Chatfield's degree of success in the internal affairs of the Central American countries and in his efforts to get the treaty were limited by the prevailing anti-British sentiment especially strong in Guatemala. The Central Americans' hostility was aroused by British activities in Belize and the conflicting claims to that territory, and also by British attempts to take over the Mosquito Coast.

In spite of these difficulties, however, by 1849 Chatfield and the British seemed well along to having their own way in Central America. But now a new obstacle appeared: the United States developed an interest in the region and soon was threatening the British position. In spite of their quarrels, the two countries nevertheless agreed on the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which represented somewhat of a retreat for Britain.

In this volume Rodríguez demonstrates that the English were not so imperialistic as has commonly been charged, substantiating his position by a thorough use of British sources, along with material from archives in Belgium, France, and Central America.

University of Missouri WALTER V. SCHOLES

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Historical News

American Historical Association

Robert L. Zangrando has been appointed Assistant Executive Secretary of the American Historical Association and Director of the Service Center for Teachers of History. He was formerly acting chairman of the department of history at Rutgers University, Camden.

Issues of the *American Historical Review* that are now out of print include October 1960, January 1961, April 1963, and January 1964. We would appreciate receiving copies of these issues from members who no longer need them.

Libraries and Archives

The resources of the Library of Congress for the study of military history were immeasurably strengthened by the acquisition, from members of the Patton family, of the papers of General George S. Patton, Jr., theorist and master tactician in armored warfare. The papers cover all phases of General Patton's career, from schoolboy essays to his diary of World War II. They detail military action in Mexico against Francisco Villa; in Europe in World War I, during which Patton served as headquarters commandant to General Pershing; and in the North African, Sicilian, and European campaigns of World War II, in which Patton distinguished himself. There are also lectures and subject files pertaining to the theory of tank warfare, scrapbooks, maps, correspondence, and diaries dating from 1910 to 1945, the year of Patton's death. At the present time the papers may be consulted only by special permission, which should be requested through the Chief of the Manuscript Division.

Author and political philosopher Hannah Arendt has presented a first installment of her papers to the Library. Included are approximately fifty letters she exchanged with Dr. Judah L. Magnes, first president of Hebrew University in Jerusalem less than six months before Magnes' death in October 1948; these pertain chiefly to the problems of the Israeli Republic which was proclaimed upon termination of the British mandate in May 1948. There is also an extensive correspondence with officials of the Judah L. Magnes Foundation, established to further Magnes' ideals. The papers also include five separate volumes of Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem* and the manuscripts of a number of her published and unpublished articles and lectures and of two additional books, *Between Past and Future* (1961) and *On Revolution* (1963).

Included in a recent gift from Mrs. James W. Morrisson are a diary and forty-five letters written by philologist and historian Arthur Middleton Reeves (1856–1891), whose most notable contributions were in the field of pre-Columbian discovery. The letters were written by Reeves to members of his family while he was a student at Cornell University and during trips to Europe, the first of which he took in 1878 with his Cornell professor, Daniel Willard Fiske. He kept the diary

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during the weeks between September 13 and October 12, 1879, while he was traveling in Iceland with Fiske.

Pulitzer Prize-winning poet and dramatist and former Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish has added to his personal papers in the Library the screenplay and correspondence relating to *The Eleanor Roosevelt Story,* a film documentary portraying the life and achievements of the former first lady. This material, like the remainder of MacLeish's papers in the Manuscript Division, is closed to investigators for the time being. An important addition to the Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers, received as a gift from Mrs. Huebsch, includes seventy-six letters from Sherwood Anderson, which pertain mainly to publishing matters during the period of Anderson's association with Huebsch.

Among recent National Archives accessions are correspondence, memorandums, reports, and studies of geographical and other offices of the Department of State, 1917–1944; records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs concerning Indian lands and related matters, 1836–1909; records of the Secretary of Labor relating to his membership on the Trade Policy Committee, 1958–1963, including agenda and minutes of meetings, committee documents, and correspondence with the White House and the Secretary of Commerce; records of the General Services Administration consisting of inventory listings of property owned or leased by the federal government in the United States and other countries for the year ending June 30, 1964; docket cases of the Federal Trade Commission, 1936–1943, relating to complaints of unfair methods of competition or undue restraint of trade; annual financial reports submitted to the Federal Communications Commission by communications common carriers, 1954–1960; and records of and accumulated by the Mississippi River Commission, including correspondence, minutes of meetings, instructions to field parties, reports of surveys and experiments, maps, and charts, 1870–1927.

Other accessions include the papers of Paul Sachs relating to his service on the American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas, from about 1942 to 1946; records of Judge Charles Fahy as Solicitor General, 1941–1945, as Chairman of the Civil Service Board of Legal Examiners, 1942–1945, and as legal adviser to the Office of Military Government for Germany, 1945–1946; and the W. H. Tipton collection of Civil War photographs (1,600 items).

Microfilm publications completed include Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations between Great Britain and Other States, 1910–1929 (13 rolls); Letters Sent by the Postmaster General, 1789–1836 (50 rolls); Letters Received by the US Geological Survey, 1879–1901 (118 rolls); Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Navy Agents and Naval Storekeepers, 1843–1865 (12 rolls); Federal Nonpopulation Census Schedules in the Custody of the Pennsylvania State Library, 1850–1880 (23 rolls); and Investigation and Trial Papers Relating to the Assassination of President Lincoln (16 rolls).

The National Archives has recently issued two preliminary inventories: Number 163, *Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs,* Volumes I and II, and Number 164, *General Records of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.*

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library has been given the diary of Harold D.

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Smith, Director of the Bureau of the Budget under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. The diary, April 1939–June 1946, consists of daily accounts of his activities as head of the bureau and notes of his conferences with the two Presidents. The library has also been given additional papers of Hilda Smith, former Director of the Workers' Education Projects of the Works Progress Administration, relating to the Workers' Education Projects, 1933–1945, the National Committee for the Extension of Labor Education, 1945–1951, and the resident workers schools she conducted at Bryn Mawr College and at West Park, New York; and over two hundred recordings of speeches and messages to Congress by President Roosevelt, 1924–1945, as well as recordings of tributes to his memory broadcast shortly after his death.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of Joel D. Wolfsohn from his service as Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office and Associate Director of the Bureau of Land Management, 1934–1947; and additional papers of General Harry H. Vaughan, military aide to President Truman, 1947–1952, and of Major General Ralph E. Truman, cousin of President Truman and commanding general of the Thirty-fifth Division, 1947–1952.

Sixty-five persons did research at the library in the last three months. During the same period, over 51,000 persons visited the Museum of the Presidency, making a total of 179,800 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965. The American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association gave to the library the original model of Felix de Weldon's statue of President Truman.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library has received the files, 1952–1964, of Joseph M. Dodge, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, 1953–1954, Chairman of the Council on Foreign Economic Policy, 1954–1956, and a member of the President's Committee to Study the US Military Assistance Program under President Eisenhower. Files of the Republican National Committee, 1944–1964, consisting of clippings, news releases, and pamphlets, have also been received.

Grants, Awards, Prizes

The University of Wisconsin has received a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to continue a program of research and training in the history of tropical countries.

European institutions receiving American Council of Learned Societies grants to promote historical study in its American Studies Program include: the Royal Library of Belgium; the Center of American Studies, Rome; the University of East Anglia; the European Association for American Studies; and the University of Leiden.

Those historians receiving Grants-in-Aid from the ACLS for postdoctoral research in the humanities and related social sciences are: Gerard E. Caspary, Melvyn Dubofsky, Fritz T. Epstein, Stephen Foltiny, Louis R. Harlan, Peter d'A. Jones, Richard Lowitt, James E. Packer, Jane H. Pease, William H. Pease, Caroline Robbins, Lionel N. Rothkrug, Jeffrey B. Russell, Bernhard W. Scholz, and Paul W. Schroeder.

The following US scholars have been awarded ACLS grants for postdoctoral

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research in American studies in 1965–1966: L. Jesse Lemisch, Robert L. Middlekauff, John H. Moore, and Irwin Unger.

ACLS fellowships awarded to European scholars for work in American studies during 1965–1966 include the following historians: David K. Adams, Keith M. Drake, Henrik Enander, Wolfgang J. Helbich, Duncan J. MacLeod, Guenter E. Moltmann, Howard R. Temperley, and John D. Walsh.

The following historians have received Social Science Research Council grants: *Research Training Fellowships*—James Axtell, Samuel J. Berner, John P. Demos, Paul R. Duggan, Allan N. Galpern, Thomas F. Glick, Paul J. Kleppner, Howard A. Nenner, David M. Nicholas, Jr., Joel T. Rosenthal, Samuel F. Scott, John C. Stalnaker, Richard Tyler, and Judith P. Ward. *Faculty Research Grants*—Norman Dain, Peter d'A. Jones, David S. Landes, and Gavin I. Langmuir.

Joint committees of the ACLS and the SSRC have made the following awards to historians: *Grants for Asian Studies*—Chun-shu Chang, Stephen N. Hay, Eugene F. Irschick, Harry J. Lamley, John Meskill, and Y. C. Wang. *Grants for Slavic and East European Studies*—Vartan Gregorian, Keith Hitchins, Ivo J. Lederer, David MacKenzie, Raymond T. McNally, Walter M. Pintner, Richard E. Pipes, Richard C. Raack, Ivan L. Rudnytsky, Robert M. Slusser, and Joseph F. Zacek. *Travel Grants*—Stephen Fischer-Galati and Peter F. Sugar.

US scholars lecturing overseas in 1965–1966 under the Fulbright-Hays Act include the following historians: Raymond W. Albright, O. Fritiof Ander, Rowland T. Berthoff, Alan R. Booth, Robert A. Brent, George A. Brubaker, David M. Chalmers, David E. Conrad, Harold Dunham, Robert F. Durden, Roland T. Ely, George P. Hammond, James H. High, Alfred H. Kelly, Hector G. Kinloch, Dexter Perkins, Mark Plummer, Robert Reinders, and Ralph L. Woodward, Jr.

Publications

The recently founded *Instituto de Historia Medieval de España* of the University of Barcelona has issued the first of its projected annual volumes entitled *Anuario de Estudios Medievales.*

The *Canadian Journal of History,* expected to become a quarterly publication, plans to publish its first issue in December of this year.

Other Historical News

The Immigration History Group has been formed with Robert D. Cross of Columbia University as executive secretary. Its primary function is to promote scheduling of sessions on immigration history at meetings of the Organization of American Historians (MVHA) and the American Historical Association. Secondarily, the group will promote research and writing in the field of immigration history and provide opportunities for presentation of new research at professional society meetings. No dues are required; interested scholars can communicate with Professor Cross.

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Recent Deaths

Franklin D. Laurens, associate professor at Valdosta State College, and Harry L. Franklin of Falls Church, Virginia, died February 28, 1965.

Henry W. Seney of Toledo, Ohio, died March 18.

Harold A. Hansen of Pasadena City College died April 9.

Mrs. Virginia Garrow Bullock-Willis died April 20.

Fred B. Joyner, who was completing his forty-third year at Miami University (Ohio), died April 23.

Lloyd T. England of Seattle, Washington, died April 30.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

I would like to enter a gentle word of protest against Forrest McDonald's review of Noble E. Cunningham's book, *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power* (*AHR*, LXX [Apr. 1965], 810). The clever device that Professor McDonald uses to caricature the book could be employed with similar effect against most of the monographic literature turned out by the members of our profession. I think it would have served us better if he had used his limited wordage to tell us where he thought the author was wrong and at what points further inquiry seemed warranted.

I believe Professor McDonald is closer to the mark in those passages in which he concedes that "anyone interested in the period can scarcely afford to ignore" the book, that the author may have "more understanding of Jefferson as a party politician" than anyone else alive, and that in certain particulars the results of his work are "brilliant." As a reader who has found Cunningham's two books on the Jeffersonians very illuminating, I am impelled to express my sense of indebtedness to his fruitful researches and his happy sense of fact.

Columbia University Richard Hofstadter

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

May I respectfully suggest that Professor Hofstadter—who has given us a host of brilliant *interpretive* works—may be somewhat out of contact with the new breed of younger historians, those who for the past ten years or so have been doing the grubby, tedious work of digging up data and turning out the monographs. It may once have been true, as he charges, that the device I used for reviewing Mr. Cunningham's book (a parody of a first-grade reader style) "could be employed with similar effect against most of the monographic literature turned out by the members of our profession"; but it is not true any longer. My criticism of Professor Cunningham's book is that, instead of creating, inductively, an interpretation that would render meaningful the wealth of material he has uncovered, he tried to cram it into a platitudinous, hackneyed, and simple interpretive framework that just cannot accommodate it. I do not believe that very many from the present crop of monograph writers suffer that defect. It is true that they have been appropriately cautious and respectful about casting off the older interpretations and accordingly tend to err on the side of claiming too little rather than too much. But when the facts do not fit the old stereotypes, they abandon the stereotypes; and gradually, piecemeal, they are shaking loose from the old clichés and giving us new understanding as well as new information.

Brown University Forrest McDonald

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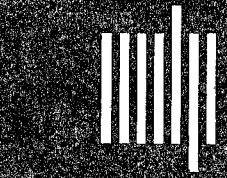
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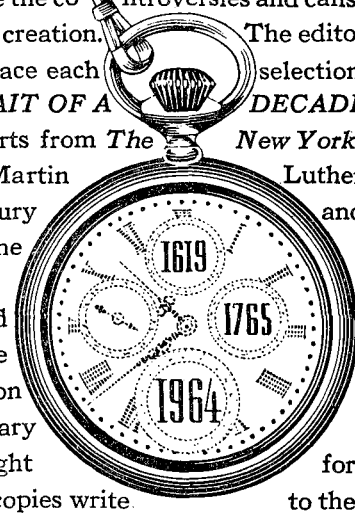
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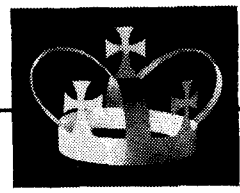
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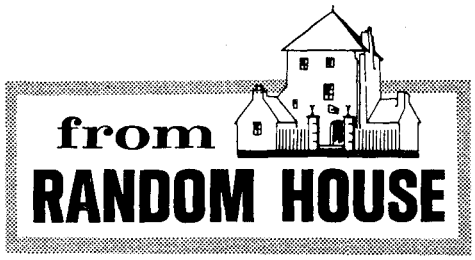
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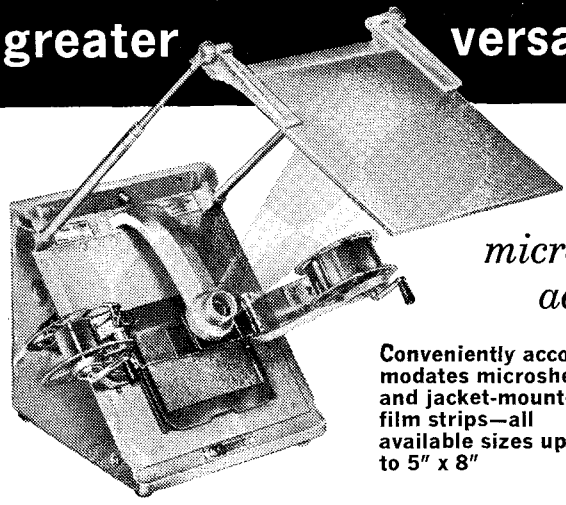
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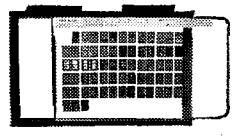
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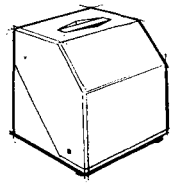
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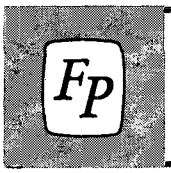
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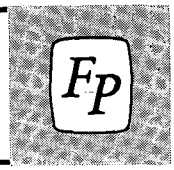
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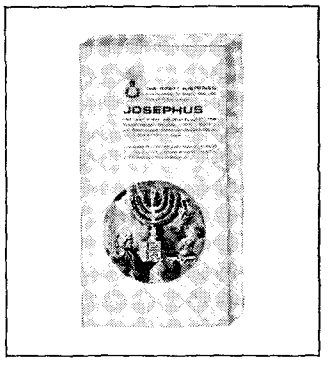
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